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Communist International. 2nd Congress, Petrograd
and Moscow, 1920

THE 2ND CONGRESS
OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

AS REPORTED AND INTERPRETED BY THE
OFFICIAL NEWSPAPERS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

PETROGRAD-MOSCOW

JULY 19-AUGUST 7, 1920



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PREFACE.

This memorandum consists of direct translations from the official newspapers of Soviet Russia concerning the Congress of the Communist International, which was held in Petrograd and Moscow from July 19 to August 7, 1920.

An earlier memorandum, prepared in the Russian Division of the Department of State, showed the close interrelationship between the Bolshevik Party, the Russian Soviets, and this Communist International. The material submitted herewith emphasizes the fact that these organizations are, in reality, but three phases of the same movement. Attention is called to the prominent part played in this Congress, which the speakers often boastfully refer to as "the General Staff of the World Revolution," by the acknowledged administrative heads of the Russian Soviets. In their rôle as leaders of the Soviets they attempt to establish "normal" relations with governments, while in their rôle as Communist Revolutionists, and as general managers of the "General Staff of World Revolution," they conspire to wreck the same.

The memorandum is divided into two distinct sections:

(1) "A Bolshevik Report on the 2d Congress of the Communist International," and

(2) "The Bolshevik Interpretation of the 2d Congress of the Communist International."

The first section is a full translation of the reports of the proceedings of this Congress, which were published in the Pravda of Petrograd. The Petrograd Pravda has been chosen as the basis of the first section because the Department has received an almost complete file for the period of the Congress. In the few cases where numbers of the Pravda are lacking, the fact is clearly indicated and translations for those days are made from the Izvestia of Moscow.

Also, in several instances the Moscow Izvestia printed longer summaries of speeches than the Petrograd Pravda had room for. In such cases the additional material is presented in footnotes.

Comparison with other newspapers of the same dates indicates that the summary reports of the proceedings of the Congress here presented were distributed by the Official News Agency, Rosta, a central Soviet monopoly, and that they were printed in practically the same form in all of the larger newspapers of Soviet Russia.

The first section is, therefore, a translation, as complete as possible, of the report of this Congress, which the Soviet officials gave to their own people. It is not submitted as a truthful account of the events at this gathering, but as Bolshevik testimony. It is very noticeable, for instance, how in this summary of an International Congress, the last word in all disputes is given to Russians, particularly Lenin.

Much of it is very dry reading, but it is given in full as the Bolsheviks presented it to their own readers.

The second section is a selection from an embarrassingly large number of signed articles and editorial comments in the Soviet newspapers giving the Bolshevik interpretation of the meaning and results of this Congress. The translations have been chosen because of the prominence of the writers, the special interest of the subject to American readers, or the influence of the periodical in which they appeared.

The newspapers from which translations have been made are:

(1) The Moscow Izvestia, official organ of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets;

(2) The Moscow Pravda, official organ of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks);

(3) The Petrograd Izvestia, official organ of the Petrograd Soviet;

(4) The Petrograd Pravda, official organ of the Petrograd Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks);

(5) Economic Life, official organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy and of the People's Commissariats of Finance, Supplies, and Foreign Trade;

(6) and (7) The Village Commune and The Krasnaya Gazeta, official publications of the Petrograd Soviet in popular language for the peasants and city workmen; and, finally,

(8) The Communist International, a special newspaper of a single issue, July 19, 1920, the day of the opening of the Congress in Petrograd. It was prepared by the editorial staffs of the official Petrograd newspapers.

An effort has been made to present such selections as will indicate the significance attached to this Congress by the Bolsheviks themselves.

The theses "on the Rôle of the Communist Party," which were adopted by the Congress, were published in a supplement to the Moscow Pravda, and a full translation is given herewith. None of the many other theses adopted by the Congress—somewhat like the "planks" of an American political "platform"—has been printed in any of the newspapers which have thus far reached the Department. This apparently strange omission is probably due to the extreme shortage of newsprint paper. The ordinary Soviet newspaper is a single sheet six to eight columns of reading matter on each side.

According to the Bolshevik report of the Congress, there were five delegates who claimed to represent the American working class and who were accepted without serious question in this capacity. They seem, indeed, to have been given somewhat more prominence in the press and the proceedings of the Congress than was the case with delegates of some other countries, or than their influence in America would warrant. Some of their articles and the report of two of their speeches in the Congress are given in order to show the impression of American conditions which they attempted to convey to the Russians and which the Soviet officials endorsed by circulating in their news agency and official publications. The contributions of the "American" delegates will be illuminating to American readers. There is every indication that the speeches of the delegates from other countries would seem to the people they claimed to represent just as far removed from the familiar facts of life.

Mr. Chicherin, who has charge of the foreign relations of the Soviets, in a recent circular wireless note to his representatives abroad, dated Moscow, September 10, 1920, in commenting on the Department's note of August 10 to the Italian Ambassador made the statement that the policy of this Government toward the Soviets is based on misinformation and that this Government had made a "false and malicious" attack on the present rulers of Russia. These translations have been prepared in order that the American public may know what the Bolsheviks think of themselves. Any condemnation contained in this memorandum is out of their own mouths.

Distortion of fact for propaganda purposes is apparent in both sections of this memorandum. The Congress was not such an idyllic feast of unity and harmony as these Bolshevik reports indicate. There was bitter and violent difference of opinion and considerable heated protest against the "steam roller" methods which "the organization" applied to "the opposition." Some among the foreign delegates especially were indignant to discover that they had been invited to Moscow not to confer but to submit.

The attitude of this Communist Congress toward democracy is especially interesting. Beginning with Lenin's first speech, running through the following debates and much of the newspaper comment, is an obvious fear of democracy. Enlightened liberalism is the one obstacle which these Communists see to the success of their project. They are more vindictive in their references to progressive democracy than they are in their denunciations of "Tsarism." They are not afraid of the reaction. They recognize very clearly that their real enemy, against which they must marshal their most formidable attack, is that spirit of democracy to which this Nation is dedicated.

It is hoped that the publication of this memorandum will do much to clarify public opinion in regard to the problems which face this democracy in its relations with Bolshevism.

DIVISION OF RUSSIAN AFFAIRS,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
October 25, 1920.

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SECTION I

A BOLSHEVIST REPORT

ON

THE PROCEEDINGS OF
THE 2ND CONGRESS

OF THE

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

PETROGRAD-MOSCOW

JULY 19-AUGUST 7, 1920

(Translated in full from the official Bolshevik newspaper
Petrograd PRAVDA, supplemented by the Moscow IZVESTIA)

OPENING OF 2ND CONGRESS OF III INTERNATIONAL.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 21, 1920.]

SPEECH OF COMRADE ZINOVIEV.

By 12 o'clock the hall and balconies were filled to overflowing.

The members of the Executive Committee of the III International appear, with the president of the latter, Comrade Zinoviev, at their head. At the same time Comrades Lenin, Kalinin, Radek, Bukharin, and others mount the stage. The leaders of the proletariat are welcomed with thunderous applause. The members of the Congress take their seats.

The members of the Congress are in the front rows. On each member's desk is a previously prepared full set of the "Communist International" in artistic binding, and also a portfolio containing a collection of photographs illustrating various aspects of the Russian revolution and of the constructive work of Soviet Russia, and also a pad of paper, a notebook, etc.

At 1.05 p. m. Comrade Zinoviev, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, declares the sitting of the Congress opened.

In Memory of Fallen Fighters.

"The first word," said Comrade Zinoviev, "must be consecrated to the memory of our friends and leaders who have perished for the cause of the Communist International. There is no country where the blood of workmen-Communists has not been shed. One has only to recall our Hungarian comrades, Comrades Samueli, Levin, and many others. In Finland, Esthonia, Hungary, and elsewhere, hundreds and thousands of the best sons of the working class have perished.

"In opening the Congress we do honor to the memory of the comrades who have fallen."

On Comrade Zinoviev's proposal all present stand; the orchestra plays the funeral march.

Greetings to Comrade Monat, Lorient, and Others.

"At this historic moment we may recall also those comrades who are sitting behind iron gratings, who are languishing in prisons, thrown there by the enemies of the proletariat. Our French friends, Comrades Lorient, Monat, and others, have been imprisoned.

*"We send greetings to the many fighters in the workmen's revolution who are languishing in prisons."*¹

Struggle Between II and III International.

"The Communist International was founded 15 months ago, and from its very first steps it naturally had to cross swords with the II International, entering into direct conflict with the latter. Both our friends and our enemies in all Europe and America must face this fact, and also recognize that our struggle has been crowned with success, and that as a result of this duel the II International has been knocked in the head by the III Communist International.

"The struggle between us and the II International is the real struggle of classes. In the ranks of the II International there were many of our class-brothers, who had been deceived by the false ideology of the yellow Socialists who had followed the same road with the bourgeoisie.

The Triumph of the III International.

"We triumphed because the bourgeoisie proved powerless to liquidate the heritage of the war; because the bourgeoisie as a whole is not able to do anything to reconstruct the economic life of Europe. The II International linked its fate with the bourgeoisie at the very first shot that proclaimed the beginning of the imperialistic war. The later attempts to reestablish the II International naturally met with no success. Its principal leaders strove to enter into alliance with the League of Nations.

"They put Wilson on the same slate with Jaurés, that martyr of the labor movement.

The Bourgeoisie is Destined to Perish.

"Therefore all the blows showered now on the bourgeoisie, fall like a heavy hammer on the II International. Every organization that has associated itself with the bourgeois class, whose end is predestined, by that very fact condemns itself also to ruin.

"The working class is coming into power, and the bourgeoisie in its despair seizes on the half-dead II International, and strangles it in its dying grasp. There is no doubt that both are approaching definite ruin, because in the historic sense years are reckoned by days. Their collapse will make it possible for an international union of workmen to create a new world, founded on Communism. The idea of democracy has faded away before our very eyes.

"When the American bourgeoisie before the eyes of the whole world suspended constitutional guarantees, when this much-praised democracy violated all the principles established by it—by this it itself determined its place. On this question there should not be two opinions. In noting the victory over the II International it is necessary to emphasize this much-debated point, and finish once for all with democratic tendencies.

¹ NOTE.—All italics are in the original report.

The Tasks of the Congress.

“The Congress has been convened to decide certain questions which are the subject of dispute in the ranks of the Communist movement. We have brought to the Congress parties which have not yet manifested their purely communistic character, which have not yet fully defined their tactics. Individual groups of the working class in certain countries are still at the crossroads. We have brought here all the mass workmen’s organizations that wish honestly to combat capitalism.”

“In the period of the collapse of the II International all parties have abandoned it one after another. Now they are trying to enter the III International. Such are the German Independents and the French Socialist Party, groups adhering to these, and also certain others.

There Will Be No Place for Traitors in the III International.

“At the Congress no dishonest thinking will be permitted, and there can be no concession to the II International. We shall tell the German and French workmen that they must start to cleanse their ranks so that they may come into the International union of workmen. Just as in individual countries we must have parties molded from iron and steel, which carry the working masses with them, so we must do the same on the international scale. There must be created a pliable and mobile organization, which can render powerful assistance at the necessary moment wherever such will be required.

Why the I International Did Not Succeed.

“If the struggle of the I International, which was built by the hands of Marx and Engels, was not crowned with success, it was because at that time there was no union of workmen on a world scale. To be victorious over the bourgeoisie it is essential to realize this fundamental task.

Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Large Workmen’s Uprising.

“As we begin the work of the Congress we should remember that in a few months we shall have the fiftieth anniversary of the first great uprising of workmen who pointed out the road for us. We should remember the Paris Commune, which wrote the first page of the history of the international workmen’s movement.

“We express our fervent desire that by the date of this great anniversary France already will have a French Soviet Republic.

The Triumph of the International Proletariat is Near.

“A short time will pass, and the proletariat of all countries, in a single outburst, with a clearly defined aim and as a single entity, will march forward to victory, under the leadership of the Communist International.

“Long live the working class of the whole world!

“Long live the Communist International!”

All the members of the Congress and all those present at the sitting by their stormy and long applause showed their complete solidarity with the wishes expressed by Comrade Zinoviev.

Comrade Zinoviev's speech was translated into German by Comrade Radek. Comrade Balabanova translated the speech into French and Italian.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF PRAESIDIUM.

Then take place the elections of members of the Praesidium of the Congress. In the name of the executive committee, Comrade Bukharin proposes the following names:

Comrades: Levi (Germany), Rosmer (France), Seratti (Italy), Lenin and Zinoviev (Russia).

This proposal is unanimously adopted.

Comrade Zinoviev then reports that many organizations have desired to present greetings to the Congress. Because of lack of time it is necessary, however, to limit the granting of the floor for the presenting of greetings to only one representative of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, on whose territory the Congress has convened.

The floor is given to the president of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, Comrade Kalinin, whom the Congress welcomes with a boisterous ovation.

SPEECH OF COMRADE KALININ.

Greeting to the Congress from Russian Workmen and Peasants.

"In the name of the workmen and peasants of Soviet Russia," begins Comrade Kalinin, "I greet the 2nd World Congress of the III Communist International."

"Our Communist Party," continues Comrade Kalinin, "in its past activity was not spoiled by parliamentary struggle. It was forced to carry on its struggles against Tsarism and Kerensky under difficult conditions, but the party never lost hope that Tsarism and oppression would be overthrown."

The Struggle for the Welfare of Toilers.

"During the last three years we have had to make enormous sacrifices and show colossal energy in the struggle for the welfare of the toilers."

"We have had to suffer all the burdens of civil war, of hunger, of blockade, etc. In this difficult and constant struggle, Soviet Russia tempered herself. This struggle made it possible for us to create our glorious, invincible Red Army, which at the present moment is showing miracles of bravery on the fields of battle against white Poland."

"At the present moment it is absolutely clear to Russian workmen and peasants that we are not fighting solely the Russian bourgeoisie and Tsarist landlords; that it is not only against such that our struggle is directed. The workmen and peasants now know that the world bourgeoisie stands behind the Russian bourgeoisie, sending

against us now this enemy, now the other. That is why Russian workmen at the present moment look to the West, knowing that the world proletariat is on their side."

Comrade Kalinin concludes his speech by expressing the hope that the Congress which is about to open will serve as the beginning of a direct conflict of the peoples of the East and West for the liberation of the world proletariat, and once again greets the Congress in the name of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets.

SPEECH OF COMRADE LENIN.

After the speech of Comrade Kalinin, the Congress passes to the order of the day.

Comrade Lenin makes a report on the international situation; he is received with loud applause, which becomes an enthusiastic ovation.

"In my report I shall dwell somewhat in detail on the international situation.

Main Features of Imperialism.

"The basis of the entire international situation as we find it to-day is the economic situation of imperialism. During the entire twentieth century this new, higher, and last stage of development of capitalism became fully defined. Of course you all know that the most characteristic traits of imperialism are found in the fact that capital attained enormous proportions. Monopoly replaced free competition. Capitalists of gigantic size in insignificant numbers were able to concentrate in their hands sometimes whole branches of industry. They set about to establish unions, syndicates, artels, and trusts of an international character, seizing financially and on the basis of property rights, and in part also with respect to production, entire branches of industry, not only in individual countries but with respect to the entire world.

"On this foundation they developed an unprecedented and unheard-of rule of an insignificant number of banks, the rule of an insignificant number of financial kings, of financial magnates, who in fact converted even the freest republican countries into financial monarchies, as has been admitted by the writer Lessis(?), who is not at all a revolutionist.

Division of Colonies.

"This rule by an insignificant handful of capitalists reached its complete development when all lands were finally divided up, not only in the sense of seizure by the largest capitalists of the main sources of raw material and production, but also in the sense of a final preliminary division of colonies. Thirty years ago the population in these colonies did not exceed a quarter of a billion, and they were subjected to six large powers. On the eve of 1914 the population in the colonies was about 600,000,000, and if we add such countries as Persia, Turkey, and China, which were in fact in a semicolonial condition, then we have a population of 1,000,000,000, which was oppressed by the richest, most civilized and freest countries by means

of colonial dependence. And you all know that colonial dependence means unheard-of economic and financial oppression, means a whole series of wars, which the 'pacifist' European petty bourgeoisie does not even consider wars because frequently these wars are merely clashes in which European armies, armed with the best equipment, beat up the unarmed and unprotected inhabitants of colonial countries.

Imperialistic War of 1914.

"As a result of this dividing up of the entire earth, and of this rule of capitalistic monopoly, of this rule of an insignificant number of the largest banks—not more than four to five banks dominate the entire life even in the most rich, enlightened, and free country—as a result of this rule the imperialistic war developed inevitably. The purpose of the war of 1914 was to redistribute the world; that is, determine which one of this small group of States, England or Germany, would receive the possibility and right to rob, oppress and exploit the entire world.

"You know how the war decided this question in favor of the English group, and as a result of the war we have an immeasurably increased sharpening of all antagonisms.

Results of the War.

"The war immediately threw about a quarter of a billion of the population of the earth into a situation which was practically that of colonies—Russia, with its population of 130,000,000; Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Germany, with populations totaling 120,000,000. The war, which led to the complete defeat of these countries through the Versailles Treaty, imposed on them such conditions that these civilized peoples have become dependent, like the colonials, and, like the latter, ruined, starving, and without rights. For many generations they are doomed to this condition by the treaty, a condition in which formerly no civilized people ever had to live.

"You know that the Versailles Treaty forced Germany, and a whole series of conquered States, into conditions of absolute impossibility of economic existence, into conditions of complete absence of rights, of utter humiliation. How large a number of nations profited by this? In order to answer this question we must remember that the population of America, which profited most of all from the war, being converted into a rich country from a country that had a mass of debts, does not exceed 100,000,000; the population of Japan, which profited much by remaining outside the actual conflict, seizing the Asiatic continent, is 50,000,000; the population of England, which profited very much in the colonial sense, is 50,000,000, making a total of 200,000,000. Let us add a few neutral States with small populations, which became particularly rich during the war, and we have a quarter of a billion. Thus you have a picture of the dividing up of the entire earth as the result of the imperialistic war. A billion and a quarter of population of oppressed colonial countries, which are partitioned alive like Turkey, China, and Persia, and not more than a quarter of a billion of population, in countries which have maintained their position in part in southern and central Amer-

ica and in part of Europe, but which have fallen into economic dependence on America.

"I draw you this picture in detail because all the fundamental contradictions of imperialism and capitalism which lead to revolution, yes, and all the fundamental contradictions in the workmen's movement which have led to the bitter fight against the II International and have ended in our victory (about which our president, Comrade Zinoviev, told you)—all this is closely bound up with this dividing up of the earth, which is illustrated by these figures only in its fundamental outlines.

"Comrades, it is natural that on the basis of such a dividing up of the earth the exploitation of financial capital, of capitalistic monopoly, should develop. Not only the colonial and defeated countries are falling into a position of dependence, but within each victorious country all these capitalistic contradictions also have developed.

Increase of Debts.

"I shall show you this fact in brief outline by certain examples. Take, for example, the debts. You all know how debt obligations have increased. During the period 1914–1920 the debts of the most important European States increased no less than seven times. In this connection a paper by an English diplomat, Keynes, entitled 'The Economic Consequences of the Peace,' is most valuable.

"Keynes, on instructions of his Government, took part in the negotiations at Versailles, studied and observed the peace conference from a purely bourgeois point of view; and having studied it in detail, participated as an economist in all its sessions. He came to a conclusion which is more forceful, clear, and constructive than any conclusion a Communist-Revolutionary might have reached. For an acknowledged bourgeois, a pitiless opponent of Bolshevism, makes these conclusions, and Bolshevism presents itself to him, an English bourgeois, in its most ridiculous and monstrous forms. Keynes came to the conclusion that Europe, by the Versailles peace, will bring the entire world to bankruptcy, and he resigned, hurling his book as his farewell to his Government and saying, 'You are doing a senseless thing.'

"He brings out the following figures (I translate them into gold rubles, reckoning a pound sterling at 10 rubles): The United States has assets of twelve billion rubles. Other countries are now its debtors, while before the war the United States owed England. Comrade Levy in his report at the last Congress in Germany, April 14, 1920, justly said, 'There remain in the entire world only two countries which stand out as independent—England and America. Of these two powers only America is absolutely independent financially. All other powers are in its debt.'

England's Debt.

"England's assets are seventeen billions and her liabilities eight; that is, she has become 50 per cent. debtor, in part, to America. Further, England's assets include six billion of the debt which Russia owes her, Russia's debt for the Russian war contracts filled by

England. Quite recently, when Comrade Krassin was talking with Lloyd-George about the commercial treaty, Comrade Krassin declared to the leaders of the English Government: 'If you expect to receive anything on this debt, then you are very much mistaken.' [Applause.] Of course it is not that the Russian revolutionary Government, because of its revolutionary character, does not wish to pay this debt. No Government would be able to pay it, because these debts represent the usurers' percentage on the debt which had accumulated earlier, which England has received back from us already tenfold. And this same bourgeois, Keynes, who does not at all sympathize with the revolutionary movement, and is in fact its enemy, says: 'You can not reckon in these debts, because you will never collect them.'

France's Indebtedness.

"France's assets are three and one-half billions, while her liabilities are ten and a half; that is three times more. And this is the country of which one used to say that it was the usurer of the entire world, the financial monarch. This is the country which has lived as a progressive civilized country because its savings (colonial thefts, called savings), made it possible for her to lend billions to other countries, and particularly to Russia. In spite of this fact, France is now in the position of a debtor.

All Debts Must Be Annulled.

"A German historian says that the debts of England and France (victorious countries) amount to 50 to 55 per cent of the entire national wealth; that of Italy, 60 to 70 per cent; that of Russia, 90 per cent.

"But, as you know, these debts do not worry us, because we (even before the book of Keynes appeared) followed his very good advice: *Annul all debts.* [Applause.]

Wages and Prices.

"From these brief figures you see that the economic war has created an impossible situation for the victorious countries, and that internally there has grown up an enormous disproportion between wages and prices. Even in the most progressive countries prices have increased far beyond wages. The Supreme Economic Council, which represents an institution defending the bourgeois order of the whole world against growing revolution, on March 8 of this year adopted a resolution which describes certain fundamental traits of the economic situation, and concludes with an appeal for order, industry, and economy (on the condition, of course, that the workmen should live as before in slavery to capital). This supreme organ of our opponent—the Entente—pointed out that the general increase in prices during the period of the war amounted to 120 per cent, while wages increased 100 per cent. In France the increase in prices was 300 per cent, and in wages 200 per cent. And thus it is in all countries. (I take only the victorious countries.)

"And when they tell us that Bolshevism is disorder, a scarecrow, we can only smile, for from the statistical data of the Supreme

Council we see why the workmen can not live according to the old standards. Because even if all Bolsheviki should disappear entirely, even in America—recently America sent us 500 Communists [applause]—even if America should send not 500 but 5,000 Communists—there would still remain the disproportion between prices and wages, a disproportion which America can not solve because private property is sacred (although in Russia we have forgotten all about this), while against this new power of capital, against these tens of billions collected by the war, you can accomplish nothing.¹ No strikes, no parliamentary struggle, no elections, no reforms can accomplish anything here, because they have this sacred private property. Through private property such debts have accumulated as will subject the entire world to complete slavery.

“While need increases among workmen even in the most progressive countries, profits also have begun to increase in an unprecedented and unheard-of manner. Comrade Laninsky, in a pamphlet prepared for publication entitled ‘The World and the English Bourgeoisie,’ points out that in England the profits on exported coal have been twice what was expected in official circles. In Lancaster the stocks of weaving industries have increased 400 per cent; the incomes of banks have increased 40 to 50 per cent. We know that bankers are able to conceal the best, the lions’s share, of these incomes, so that it does not appear in the accounts as income, but is hidden under the form of various remunerations and such.

“Bourgeois statistics prove conclusively that the wealth of insignificant groups has increased enormously, that luxury has developed, while need has increased, and all this in the most progressive countries. In particular one should note the change in the value of money.

Depreciation of Money.

“Money has depreciated everywhere, as a result of the enormous issues of paper money. However, the Supreme Economic Council at its session of March 8 of this year pointed out that in England the depreciation was about one-third, in France and Italy about two-thirds, in Germany, nine-tenths and even 96 per cent. This fact shows us how the machinery of the world’s capitalistic economic system is breaking down completely, how it will be impossible to continue all the trade relations on which are based the securing of raw material and the marketing of products, simply because of the change in the value of money in one of the richest countries. And this very rich country will not be able to trade—it will not be able to sell its products and buy raw materials. On the one hand, America has become so rich that it can buy everything, but there is nothing for it to buy and it has no way of selling.

Wilsonism.

“This same Keynes depicts for us these Versailles negotiations where the shopkeepers Clemenceau and Lloyd-George showed Wil-

¹ NOTE.—The construction of the sentence often is very awkward because of the careless preparation of these reports; the translation has had to follow the original.

son up as a fool and put through a policy of most open robbery. Keynes describes how Wilson appeared at the meetings of these people like Clemenceau and Lloyd-George, who understood something about the business in hand, and began to present to them the 14 points and phrases about peace and justice. He describes how Wilson was completely befuddled, how Wilson came to the conference thinking that he would fool all of them, that he would realize a social peace, and in the end he left the conference a worn-out man understanding nothing and did everything just as his opponents wished.

"And there were some Socialists, both in Germany and in France, who wished to join the III Communist International, who shared this Wilsonism, these illusions on the possibility of peace on the basis of capitalistic relations. There were even some scientific books written about the principles of Wilson's policies. I trust that the writers of these books will perceive, from the book of the bourgeois, Keynes, that these principles amount to a complete absence of understanding of politics.

War Frenzy Passes.

"The war brought with it an unprecedented sharpening of all contradictions, and an increase of poverty and need throughout the whole world. This is the source of that deep revolutionary movement which is growing throughout the world and is spreading farther. During the war all the writers of all bourgeois countries lost their heads in glorifying war. Only now, when the war is over and German imperialism has been unmasked, the Versailles peace, which was to represent the victory of the bourgeoisie, has revealed itself as the defeat of the very aims of the war. The resignation of Keynes from the Government of which he was a delegate to the Versailles conference shows how hundreds of thousands of bourgeois intellectuals (there are hundreds of thousands of literate and educated people in the West)—how they all were obliged to follow the road taken by Keynes, an economist, a bourgeois, who resigned and flung in the face of his own Government the book that unmasked it. He merely showed in a demonstrative manner what is taking place with hundreds of thousands of conscious people, when they see that everything for which they fought was sheer deception, and that as a result only an insignificant number has become rich, while the rest have been ruined, and that as a result there has come an order of things which they will not be able to preserve.

"Keynes himself says that the English, in order to save themselves and English economic existence, require that free international trade relations be reestablished between Germany and Russia. But how are they able to bring this about?

"Keynes advises first of all to annul all debts. This book, and the citations from this book appearing in newspapers, are read not only by people who have definitely exhausted their brains, but also by live workmen and peasants. The latter will read what this bourgeois economist says, namely, that there is no way out except the annulling of debts, and therefore—but cursed be the Bolsheviks, usurpers, who have annulled debts! It seems to me that such an agitator for Bolshevism as this bourgeois pacifist should have a telegram of greeting from this Congress of the International. [Applause.]

“Comrades, Keynes says: ‘If the situation has become absolutely impossible it means that the victors themselves have become the weapons of complete disintegration.’

“We see the growth of the unconquerable revolution. Masses of oppressed, exploited and robbed see clearly that the truth, from which the bourgeoisie must perish, has been deceitfully concealed from them.

League of Nations.

“Having revealed this truth, we now realize the significance of this dependence of a billion and a quarter people, who have been placed in impossible conditions of existence. The peace of the League of Nations is presented to them, according to which the League of Nations is proclaimed as the beginning of a new period in the history of mankind, which will put an end to war as soon as this treaty becomes operative.

“Until it becomes operative they have continued to deceive the workmen and peasants by saying: ‘Wait just a little; everything can not be done at once; but when peace is concluded, then you will see how it will be.’ And everyone waited, and when the peace was published, then the most bitter opponents of Bolshevism were obliged to renounce it. When they began to apply the peace and start the machine in motion, then it immediately became clear that the machine had fallen to pieces.

Wars of Entente Against Russia.

“We see this in the case of the wars against Russia, because these wars were against weak, ruined, oppressed Russia, backward Russia, carried on by the league of rich nations, whose fleet alone rules over us. But we proved victorious! Why? Not because we became stronger in the military sense—that of course is absurd—but because there was no shade of unity among them, because one power acted despite another. France wished a strong Russia, while England wished Russia divided up. England tried to seize the Baku oil, but you know how that ended.

“England strove to establish relations with the border States of Russia. Six months ago the English minister, Churchill, counted up a dozen States at war with Russia, which were to capture Petrograd and Moscow by December, 1919. We know what these States were worth, but throughout the world they were considered real States. England based her policy on this fact. England and America gave them hundreds of millions, which went to the bottom of the sea.

League of Nations—The Best Agitator.

“This is the situation that has now developed in the League of Nations: Every day of the existence of this treaty is the best kind of agitation imaginable. We, revolutionaries, would have been worse agitators because it is supposed to be our habit to prophesy trouble.

“On every question the powers of the Entente held the knife at each other’s throats. Conflicts developed between England and France over Syria, Mesopotamia, and the division of China. The most solid conservative press of one country is filled with attacks

and unprecedented bitter statements against its own colleagues of another country because the latter are carrying away part of the booty. Complete disintegration above, complete disintegration in that small handful of the richest countries, first of all, because it is impossible for a billion and a quarter people to live under the system which advanced civilized capital wishes to establish; and, in the second place, because a mere handful of the richest powers (England, America, and perhaps Japan, which because of geographic conditions can rob the eastern Asiatic countries, but which has no independent strength, either financial or military, without the support of other countries) can not harmonize their economic relations and can not direct their policy along the line indicated by the League of Nations.

Thence the World Crisis.

"These economic factors represent the main reason why the Communist International has attained such brilliant success, why ruined Soviet Russia receives the thousands of streams of the revolutionary movement. The powerful States which aroused a dozen and a half States against us have finally reached the point where they send against us one State at a time, in order to furnish, through the Red Army soldiers, lessons in good behavior to each bourgeois robber in turn. [Applause.]

Is There an Issue Except Revolution?

"Comrades, when we take up the question of the revolutionary press, of why unrest has been created throughout the entire world (as the English bourgeois economist expresses himself), we meet first of all the mistakes and opportunism of some of those who wish to enter the III International and the opportunism of those outright deceivers of the proletariat, namely, the people who put the question of revolution in a dishonest light. They put the question thus: Is this revolution an absolutely inevitable crisis, and can one prove that there is no way out except through revolution? Some who sincerely sympathize with the revolution and are absolutely loyal revolutionists (considering themselves foremost revolutionists) try frantically to prove that there is no way out. I think that the question put in that way is fundamentally incorrect.

There Is No Absolutely Issueless Situation.

"A revolutionary crisis is at hand. Can we place hope in the strength and organization of a revolutionary class, a class of oppressed, to overthrow this disintegrating society of exploiters? *That is how the question should be put.* You can not show the absolute inability to find a way out of the crisis. To try to show this last is mere pedantism and playing with words.

"It is sufficient and necessary to prove and convert into action that which is lacking in Europe and in the entire world. The exploited masses lack the revolutionary consciousness of the organization and preparedness of their vanguard, namely, that very thing for the sake of which we have come together at this 2nd Congress of the Communist International.

“What we shall attain with decisive success (of this there can be no doubt) is the preparation of revolutionary forces, in order to take advantage of the revolutionary crisis which indisputably is at hand, which grows throughout the entire world and which lacks only decisiveness, consciousness, and organization. *Communists parties in each country, in touch with all the exploited masses—this is what is lacking.* [Continued.]¹

Is Nonclass Government Possible?

“The representative of the British Independent Labor Party, MacDonald, admits that the revolutionary movement is growing, that the workmen are for the Soviet régime, that they have seen that they have, in fact, a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. He declares: A dictatorship is a bad thing, but if you must have a class government, then it is better that it should be a bolshevist rather than a bourgeois government. But he sets about to try to inspire people with the hope that some kind of a nonclass government is possible. But we know this latter. We saw an almost nonclass government of Kerensky, Chernov, and Tseretelli. The Germans see an absolutely nonclass government of Scheidemann and Noske, and of their followers. Hungary and Finland had the same experience.

“But we are not dealing with theory, for we know from practice what kind of facts are these which make workmen laugh when they hear this talk. MacDonald says: ‘At the present moment there is revolutionary movement everywhere, and the workmen are on the side of Soviet Russia and of dictatorship. Because of the war everything has been shaken and disturbed, but all of this will settle down and all this will pass.’ Thus writes the representative of a party which wishes to join the III International. Of course you have here an out-and-out bourgeois pacifist, who reckons that any crisis will pass and be settled. This man, it is true, does not call himself a Marxist; he is only a representative of the Independent Labor Party.

“But it is not a question of whether this crisis will progress far. On this point one can debate without end. The point is that people who are duty-bound to assist the revolutionary movement are getting out of it by phrases: ‘All this will pass; all this will settle itself.’ Such people are not Socialists and are not leaders of the workmen; and what is more, *they can not be members of the III International.*

Opportunism of Social-Democracy.

“This opportunism can be noted not only among the parties that have remained in the II International but even among those who have expressed the wish to join us—for example, the French Socialist Party and the German Independent Party.

“Recently a Socialist from this same camp published another book destroying the Bolsheviks. A great many books in all the European languages now appear which devour Bolshevism whole. But the

¹ NOTE.—The conclusion of the speech is taken from the Petrograd Pravda of July 22, 1920.

more there are of such books, the more rapidly does sympathy for Bolshevism increase. I have in mind the book of Otto Bauer, entitled 'Bolshevism and Social-Democracy.' Here it is shown clearly just what Menshevism represents. It would be hard on any of us, on the basis of 15 years' experience and pleasant recollections, to be forced to sit down and describe just what Menshevism is. This learned Marxist has fortunately saved us this none too cheerful task. All the fairy tales of the Mensheviks with respect to us have been repeated here with exact citations from our decrees (Otto Bauer knows Russian) and with Menshevist deductions stuck in at every point: 'It is evident that they were victorious over Kolchak and Denikin, but now without question in their struggle against the peasantry their cause must meet definite defeat.'

"I think that our comrade Communists should make the book of Otto Bauer a textbook for Communists. Take any page of this book and show, on the basis of this page, just what Menshevism is, which leads to Scheidemanism. If you are able to show this it means that you have passed the examination and can enter the Communist Party. If you fail to show this it means that you understand nothing about Menshevism and can not enter the Communist Party. [Applause and laughter.]

Perversion of Marxism.

"Otto Bauer let slip one phrase which should be made historic. A monument should be erected to him in his lifetime, with this sentence, found in this book, engraved on it. This sentence reads: 'If at present in the countries of western Europe democracy applies violence, then this will be violence with respect to the social factor of force.' What does this mean? Democracy guarantees to all the social factor of force. This means force, organization, action, and consciousness. It can be put into motion at elections. But if you, workmen or laborers, commit violence against capitalism perhaps you think that this is revolutionary violence against the exploiter, against the property owner? No; you are wrong. This represents violence against the social factor of force. I hope that Bauer has ruined himself by this phrase, just as did Scheidemann, Noske, and the Hungarian and Finnish Social Democrats. We shall engrave these words on the monument to Otto Bauer, and to all those Socialist-Chauvinists¹ of the II International, for they will serve as a model from which future generations will learn how the most scientific Marxist theory can be perverted, and converted into a shameful, slavish, and disgraceful cause, namely, that of defending exploiters and oppressors; and how, by means of such equivocations and word-plays, a revolution can be condemned as violence.

"If farm laborers and workmen overthrow by violence landowners and capitalists, then will this violence against private property be violence against the social factor of force? Comrades, perhaps this

¹ NOTE.—The Bolsheviks use the expressions "Social-Chauvinist," or "Social-Chauvinism," as a play on the words "Social-Democrat" or "Social-Democracy." Similarly, they refer to "Social-Traitors," "Social-Patriots," etc. So the first term of these compound expressions has been translated by the word "Socialist."

example is rather frivolous, but it shows what methods must now be seized on by the best representatives of the II International in order to combat revolution and the state of mind of revolutionary people.

The Deception of Menshevism Is Universal.

“Of course we, Russian Bolsheviks, find nothing new here. But the Austrian and Hungarian Communists will have to combat these opportunistic commonplaces of Otto Bauer, and will have to work hard, because they do not have 15 years of experience of struggle against Menshevism. But on the other hand, from this study of sophisms, equivocations, and deceptions, they will gain enlightenment. In our own history we know these deceptions, and in communicating them now to our foreign comrades, we call the latter's attention to the fact that Russian Menshevism, by the will of the fates, has become that doctrine, that deception, which in all countries, in slightly different forms, in some with Marxist words and in others without, has been put forward as a defense against Bolshevism.

“We welcome this because we see and know that all disputes between Menshevism and Bolshevism have always brought about a fully conscious, steadfast, thought-out and experienced victory for the Bolshevik tendency in each country.

Are Workmen's Leaders Bought Up?

“Perhaps you raise the question—how does this tendency become clear? Why, in view of such reasons, is this Menshevik movement much stronger in England and America than with us? It is because there we have countries which have created and are creating a culture at the expense of a billion of oppressed people. That is why they have concealed the fact that it is not a play of free economic forces, not a social factor of capitalism, but a colonial profit at the expense of a billion population of dependent countries which give the capitalists, as representatives of countries owning colonies, a surplus profit.

“Before the war it was reckoned that the three richest countries—England, France, and Germany—had yearly from 8 to 10 billion francs income from the foreign exports of capital abroad, not counting all other income. It is clear that *from this amount a gift of a half billion could be tossed to labor leaders, to the labor aristocracy, in the form of various bribes.*

“This is done in a million different ways—raising standards of living in the most important centers, establishing educational institutions, giving jobs to the leaders of cooperatives and trade-unions. This is done differently in different countries, but it is done everywhere.

“These billions of surplus profits represent the economic foundation that supports opportunism in the labor movement. That is why this bond is stronger in America and England; and therefore the stubbornness of the opportunistic aristocracy of workmen is greater, which opposes the Communist movement. That is why we should be ready to face the fact that the liberation of the working class from this illness is more difficult there than with us.

Opportunism is the Enemy.

"I shall not dwell on the question of how concretely we should bring this about. This point is covered in the theses that have been published. I shall indicate simply the basic economic forms of this phenomenon. We should not be frightened because the disease drags on much longer than optimists could hope. But the very economic situation of the bourgeoisie makes this condition unstable. *Our main enemy is the opportunism in the upper ranks of the labor movement.* This is not a Socialist or proletarian, but a bourgeois movement. That these leaders of the labor movement are defending the bourgeoisie better than the bourgeoisie itself, and that without their assistance the bourgeoisie could not maintain itself—is shown not only by the régime of Kerensky, but also by the present democratic republic in Germany, and by the attitude of Albert Thomas and Henderson toward their bourgeois Governments. *Here is our main enemy; we must triumph over this enemy, and leave this Congress with an unanimous and firm decision to carry this struggle through to the end in all countries. This is our main task.*

The Illness of "Leftism."

"In comparison with this task, the correcting up of the mistakes of a certain 'left' tendency in Communism is a much easier one. In many countries we note antiparlamentarism, which, however, appears not so much among those who have come out from the petty bourgeoisie, as it is supported by forward-looking detachments of the proletariat, and by hatred for the old parliamentarism, lawful and quite correct hatred for the conduct of parliamentary opportunists in England, France, Germany, and Italy, such as we have witnessed in these countries for decades.

"It is necessary to explain the essence of the matter, give directing interpretations, acquaint the comrades more intimately and directly with the Russian experience, and with the significance of political parties. This task will in the main represent our work.

"I believe that here the struggle against these mistakes in the proletarian movement, against the diseases of proletarian growth, will be a thousand times easier than the struggle against the bourgeoisie, which, under the form of opportunists and reformists, enter the parties of the II International and direct its work, not to the benefit of the proletariat, but to the benefit of the bourgeoisie.

Is This a World Congress?

"I shall speak of one aspect of the question. Our comrade president says that *our Congress deserves the name of world wide.* I believe he is right, because we have at the Congress representatives of the revolutionary movement of the colonial countries, which have been the last to come into the movement.

"It is only a feeble beginning, but it is important that the beginning has been made. It is important that there has come about a revolutionary union of the progressive countries with the countries where there is practically no revolutionary proletariat, with the revolutionary masses of the oppressed in all colonies and in all

oriental States. And it depends on us to see to it that this union is strengthened, for it is clear to everyone that capitalism must fall.

“Only when the revolutionary pressure of workmen, which is conquering the opposition of the bourgeois culture of the small group of aristocratic leaders of the labor movement, shall have joined with the revolutionary pressure of those hundreds of thousands of men who till now have stood outside history and have been regarded as the object of imperialistic enterprises—only then shall we have the world revolutionary movement. No serious statesman, writer, or worker of the old Social-Democracy took into account the fact that the revolutionary movement among these hundreds of thousands would amount to anything. But it has an enormous significance. The imperialistic war helped us, because it dragged these colonial countries from isolation, it took from them soldiers to participate in the imperialistic slaughter, and through the English bourgeoisie inspired them with the idea that the task of the Indian proletarian or peasant is to defend the interests of the English bourgeoisie. The war inspired the black colonial peoples with the idea that it is their task to defend colonial France, and it taught them to know how to use firearms. *This is exceedingly useful knowledge and for it we convey to the bourgeoisie our deepest gratitude in the name of the workmen and peasants, and particularly in the name of the Red Army.*

“The war brought all peoples into world history, but one of the main tasks is to think out how to lay the first stone of propaganda and of organization of the Soviet movement in a noncapitalist country where Soviets are, however, possible. Only these will be Soviets not of workmen, but Soviets of Peasants’ Deputies and of toilers in general.

Everywhere the Flag of Soviets.

“On this road we shall inevitably make many mistakes and meet many difficulties, but all the fundamental problems and tasks will be presented at this Congress. Here we shall lay the foundation, so that the revolution which till now has grown unconsciously and in an unorganized and elemental manner, should proceed in an organized manner and with concentration.

“After a little more than a year we now come out victorious with respect to the II International. Soviet ideas are spreading, and not only among workmen; they have become understandable to all and everyone. The workmen in all countries laugh at those wise ones—among whom are many real Socialists and adherents of the III International—who think very wisely about the Soviet system, about Soviet ideas, as the English guild Socialists express themselves, and by their discussions of the Soviet system and the Soviet idea try to throw dust in the eyes of the workmen. The workmen note this on the side, and without saying very much about the Soviet idea and system, take the weapons which the Soviets have furnished them.

“*At the present moment the flag of Soviets is begining to be raised throughout the Orient, in Asia.* The idea that the toilers, the exploited, should run the State against nontoilers, the exploiters, is such a simple idea that it can be understood not only by a progressive proletarian, but, after our experience and the two years and a half

of the existence of the Soviet Republic and after the Congress of the III International, this idea has become immediately accessible to hundreds of millions of oppressed and exploited in the colonies. Having entered into conflict with the whole world, if we have been forced frequently to retreat and conclude temporary compromises, it is because we know that we are somewhat weaker than international imperialism. But we know that we are defending the interests of 70 per cent of the population of the entire earth.

“On our road are many difficulties, but they are passing with each day and with each hour.

International Proletarian Soviet Republic.

“Therefore, at the 2nd Congress we can say with pride: If the 1st Congress was only a congress of public propaganda, when we merely threw out general ideas and made appeals to struggle, and simply asked the workmen of the whole world to see where are to be found the people who are able to march for the Soviet authority and for the dictatorship of the proletariat—now, after one short year we have gone far forward.

“Now, we have everywhere advance detachments, and everywhere we have proletarian armies, although poorly organized and requiring reorganization. We are able to organize these into a single detachment, in a single force. *If you will help us to accomplish this, then no mental exercises or guesses with respect to what can not be known and what no one can know, will prevent us from accomplishing our task, and this task will be that of leading on, to the victory of the world revolution and to the establishment of an international proletarian Soviet Republic.*” [Stormy applause.]

SPEECHES OF FOREIGN DELEGATES.

After an intermission the representatives of foreign Socialist parties who are participating in the Congress of the III International are given the floor. The first speaker is the representative of France, comrade Rosmer.

SPEECH OF COMRADE ROSMER.

Comrade Rosmer, in the name of French workmen and peasants, expresses thanks for the reception, which deeply touched all. “A happy thought came to you when to-day you brought all delegates to Smolny, to make them see through what sufferings and heroism the Russian proletariat has passed, to attain the victory which we are to-day celebrating.”

He says that the words of Comrade Kalinin, that it is time for the international proletariat to show clearly its solidarity with the Russian proletariat, have fixed themselves firmly in the minds of all present. The French working class had, however, already realized that perhaps it had not shown sufficient energy in coming to the assistance of the Russian people, simply because confused by the libelous propaganda, it did not know sufficiently well the latter's condition, and was not as yet sufficiently strong to carry out its own will.

“But now, having been here, the French delegates will be able to acquaint French workmen and peasants with what is going on in

Russia. They intend and promise, to strive with increased energy, to the end that French workmen and peasants may understand that here people are fighting and dying for the common cause of the entire proletariat; they promise to increase their efforts to the end that all French proletarians and workmen shall enter actively into the ranks of the great international proletarian army. They promise to call attention to the great services of the proletariat of Red Petrograd, which has manifested particular heroism, self-sacrifice and steadfastness, taking the lead among hero proletarians. He proposes the following resolution (printed below).¹

SPEECH OF COMRADE SERRATI.

In the name of the communistic, internationalist Italian Socialist Party, which is adhering to the Communist International, Comrade Serrati greets the brilliant Red Army, the defender of Soviet Russia, and the defender of the great ideals of the world proletariat.

He says that when the world war broke out, in Italy the traitors of the working class wished to convince the latter that it was necessary to go over to the side of the bourgeoisie; they spread the idea that once the proletariat gets hold of iron, once it gets hold of rifles, then it will be able to win its bread, and secure its liberty. "But from the very first day, the Italian party cut loose from the Socialist-Traitors," says Comrade Serrati.

"They said it was not a question of having iron and rifles in hand, and of fighting on the side of the bourgeoisie, but a question of fighting on the side of the working class against the bourgeoisie, with rifles or without, always and everywhere.

"And now the glorious Red Army has shown by experience that iron and rifles are a revolutionary weapon only when the working class as an army can control this weapon; this means only for the conquest of the great ideals of the proletariat against the interests and intrigues of the bourgeoisie of the whole world.

"This brilliant army, which wins victory after victory, in the south against Wrangel, in the west against the Poles, this Red Army at the present moment is a unit. With it, directly or indirectly, are also the English workmen in Southhaven, the Italian sailors in Ancona, and the German sailors at Kiel, wherever the proletariat is preventing the sending of munitions to the Polish front.

"May the day be near when the Red Proletarian Army will consist not only of Russian proletarians but will consist of proletarians of the whole world. That will be a great hour, when the proletarians of all countries and the brilliant Red Army soldiers will be able finally to free themselves from their dependence with respect to war—military service—and will be able not only with cannon but by peaceful means to lead the whole world to a Soviet form of government and finally free the whole world from all that now represents oppression of the working class." Comrade Serrati proposes the following greeting to the Red Army and to the Red Fleet of the whole Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in the name of all parties represented at the Communist International.²

¹ NOTE.—See Appendix 1 for full translation of this resolution.

² NOTE.—See Appendix 2 for full translation of this message.

SPEECH OF COMRADE STEINER.

The representative of the Communist Party of Austria, Comrade Steiner, in a brilliant speech dwells on the international position of Soviet Russia, and calls on the workmen of all countries to render immediate assistance to the heroic country, which was the first to rise in rebellion against the power of capital.

"Workmen of Austria, Germany, England, France, Italy, and other countries, who till now have supported a white-guardist adventure on the territory of Russia and of its small neighbors, should immediately cease work in all organizations which are working for the support of the Russian, and therefore of the international, counter-revolution. Not a single shell should be permitted to reach the camps of the whites, and not a single cannon should be molded for the whites; not a single coat should be sent to the soldiers of counter-revolutions."

Speaking of the wishes of the proletariat of Hungary, after the international bourgeoisie had overthrown the Soviet authority in that country and had organized a systematic white terror, Comrade Steiner did not see any way out of the situation that has been created, except a complete and definite destruction of the world bourgeoisie.

"The criminal bourgeois gang in its desire to wreak vengeance on the proletariat and stifle forever the workmen's movement in Hungary, does not hesitate at any crime. For this band there do not exist either Mensheviks, Communists, or nonpartisans; all workmen, without exception, are subject to the same persecution and to the same harrassment. From the point of view of the present masters of Hungary, whoever has callouses on his hands is the most bitter enemy of the bourgeoisie."

Comrade Steiner concludes his speech with the words: "Soviet Hungary is no more. Long live Soviet Hungary."

SPEECH OF COMRADE MARKHLEVSKY.

The floor is then given to the representative of Polish Communists, Comrade Markhlevsky, who reports that the delegates from the Polish proletariat were already on the road, had already started for the Congress when news from Warsaw forced them to return, because the hour had struck for the direct conflict of the Polish proletariat for its rights. [Stormy applause.]

Comrade Markhlevsky then discusses the situation in Poland. Polish revolutionary workmen were among the shock troops of the Russian revolution of 1905-6. But the Polish proletariat was not able to take advantage of the results of the work it did. During the war of 1914 Poland was subjected to destruction, and the Polish proletariat was ruined and weakened. Polish Communists opposed this destruction with all their strength, by uniting proletarian forces, and their efforts led to the beginning of the awakening of Polish peasants and workmen.

"Now our Red Army is rapidly moving forward, and the proletarian revolution in Poland will go very rapidly. But you must remember that bourgeois Poland has as its neighbor bourgeois Roumania, which would gladly render it assistance. It is the task of the Russian proletariat to assist the Polish workmen and peasants in their struggle against the bourgeoisie, and to bring the war to a con-

clusion as quickly as possible, by a complete destruction of the Polish nobles. Polish Communists swear that they will not retreat a step from their aims, and they beg for assistance in this decisive struggle."

In answer to this appeal of Comrade Markhlevsky the Congress sends a message to the proletarians of all countries and particularly to the Polish proletariat, calling on them to fight for the liberation of Poland.¹

SPEECH OF COMRADE LEVI.

The leader of the German Spartacides, the Communist Comrade Levi, outlined the treacherous rôle played by the Socialist compromisers, the followers of Scheidemann, in suppressing the Communist movement and uprisings in Germany. The entire Congress, and all delegates present at this sitting, once more paid their respects to the leaders of the Communist movement, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

"The Communist cause," says Comrade Levi, "since their tragic death grows and becomes stronger daily and hourly throughout all Germany. At the present moment the country is making an inventory of its Communist forces, which have established deep root in the proletariat, which latter is gradually freeing itself from the hypnosis of compromise parties. It is being pushed in this direction by the cruel actualities of present day Germany."

The speech of Comrade Levi does not leave any doubt that Germany will be one of the first to enter on the road of social revolution.

2ND CONGRESS OF III INTERNATIONAL.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 24, 1920.]

Composition of Russian Delegation.

(1) Lenin, (2) Trotsky, (3) Bukharin, (4) Zinoviev, (5) Kalinin, (6) Krestinsky, (7) Dzerzhinsky, (8) Radek, (9) Rykov, (10) Serebriakov, (11) Preobrashensky, (12) Tomskey, (13) Andreev, (14) Rudzutak, (15) Rakovsky, (16) Artem, (17) Manuilsky, (18) Felix Kon, (19) Shumsky, (20) Posner, (21) Yaroslavsky, (22) Sokolnikov, (23) Ossinsky, (24) Lunacharsky, (25) Pokrovsky, (26) Riazanov, (27) Pavlovich (Volonter), (28) Sakharov, (29) Joffe, (30) Krupskaya, (31) Zorin, (32) Vatin (Bystriansky), (33) Smidovich, (34) Alekseev, (35) Firstov, (36) Chernov M., (37) Lozovsky, (38) Shliapnikov, (39) Tsiperovich, (40) Kollontai, (41) Inesa Armand, (42) Maiorova, (43) Sadavskaya, (44) Yanson, (45) Voronova, (46) Ibragimov, (47) Said Galiev, (48) Sultan-Galiev, (49) Idrisov, (50) Akhundov, (51) Enukidze, (52) Ramonov, (53) Rodzaev, (54) Aliev, (55) Baitursunov, (56) Pestkovsky, (57) Krasnoshchekov, (58) Rivkin, (59) Taetlin, (60) Dunaevsky, (61) Ignat, (62) Rafes, (63) Mereshin, (64) Oliminsky.

SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY,
PREOBRAZHENSKY.

¹ NOTE.—See Appendix 3, for full translation of this message.

SECOND SITTING.

[By telephone from Moscow.]

Yesterday, July 23, in the Kremlin, in the Andrew Hall, of the Large Palace, in a very solemn setting was opened the session of the 2nd Congress of the III International.

Comrade Lenin opens the sitting. After the adoption of the by-laws as read by Comrade Serrati, Comrade Zinoviev is given the floor to report on the rôle of the Communist parties in the proletarian revolution.

"As this 2nd Congress meets," says Comrade Zinoviev, "the international organization of the proletariat has entered on a new phase; namely, one of organized constructive effort. In almost all countries we have at the present moment Communist parties.

"The 2nd Congress takes an absolutely clear and definite position on this question of the rôle of the Communist Party, striving for the conquest of power by the working class."

In defining the rôle of the Communist Party, the speaker points out that it represents the most conscious, advanced, and revolutionary section of the working class, carrying along with it the entire remaining mass of the proletariat and semiproletariat.

Then Comrade Zinoviev dwells in detail on the objections, on the one hand of the American industrialists (I. W. W.), and the English shop-stewards, and on the other hand of the "Left" Communist Labor Party in Germany.

"Statements to the effect that during the war only the Socialist Party went bankrupt, are incorrect, because this rebuke can be directed also against trade-unions. It occurs to no one to deny the rôle of trade-unions in the process of social revolutions."

The speaker further points out in great detail the rôle played by the Communist Party in the Russian Revolution. In his opinion, a Communist party should be organized on the basis of strict centralization, and should establish in its ranks military discipline: "It should subject to its influences all spheres of activity of the working class. Those comrades are wrong who try to separate professional and cultural work from the political. The Communist Party directs both trade-unions and Soviets in equal measure."

In conclusion, Comrade Zinoviev invites the delegates to make efforts everywhere to organize a Communist party, and to establish a close connection with the broadest working masses.

Zinoviev's speech is loudly applauded.

In the debates on his report participate the delegates of America, England, Spain, and other countries and on behalf of Russia, Lenin, and Trotsky.

AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 25, 1920.]

The following agenda of the Congress are adopted: (1) Rôle and structure of a Communist Party before and after the taking over of power by the proletariat; (2) trade-unions and factory-mills committee; (3) questions of parliamentarism; (4) national and colonial

questions; (5) the agrarian question; (6) attitude toward the latest tendencies of the "center," and the conditions of admission to the III International; (7) by-laws and constitution of the Communist International; (8) problems of organization (legal and illegal organizations, women's organizations, etc.).

FIRST BUSINESS SITTING OF THE CONGRESS—CONTINUED.

In the debates on the report of Comrade Zinoviev on the rôle and structure of a Communist Party before and after the taking over of power by the proletariat, Comrades Lenin and Trotsky speak for the Russian delegation.

SPEECH OF LENIN.

Comrade Lenin in the main answers Comrades MacLean and Ramsay. He admits that in capitalistic countries the Communist Party can not be a majority in the proletariat.

"It is in fact the conscious, energetic minority, and a Communist minority should not helplessly drag along behind a backward majority of the proletariat. It must lead the latter, organize it, and direct it toward Communist ideals."

In exactly the same way Lenin protests against the supposition that the peculiar situation of the English labor movement requires that the decision as to the line of conduct of the British Socialist Party should be left to the latter's free judgment. Lenin does not understand why in such a case this Congress and this International are necessary.

"Such tactics should be considered one of the worst traditions left by the activity of the II International. The 2nd Congress of the III International will, of course, act differently and will discuss in detail in the proper committee all the conditions of the English labor movement and the tasks resulting therefrom.

"The experience of the Russian, Hungarian, and other Communist Parties has confirmed with sufficient clearness and force that the policy and tactics of national parties must be in close harmony with the international conditions of the proletarian struggle and with all the tasks of the latter."

SPEECH OF TROTSKY.

Comrade Trotsky believes that Comrade Lenin is not altogether right when he expresses the opinion that after three-fourths of a century since the beginning of the Communist International, at the 2nd Congress of the III International, one should not speak of the need or the uselessness of the Communist Party for the proletariat, inasmuch as this question has already been decided by the majority.

"Had this question been raised by Scheidemann, Renaudel, or Albert Thomas, then, of course, it would not have been necessary to talk with them; one could simply have torn off their masks just as they frequently tear off workmen's heads. But this question has been

raised by Monat and Rosmer, who started the struggle against the war when the German imperialists were almost at the walls of Paris.

"These questions have been put to me by Comrade Pestana and by French, Spanish, and American workmen, who quite naturally and legitimately hate the political party of traitors and deceivers of the proletariat, who sincerely and deeply hate the bourgeoisie and are actively fighting against them. To these one should answer this question, and one should discuss this matter with them.

"Let us go ahead somewhat and ask Comrade Pestana what he will do when he returns to Spain. He will, of course, answer that he will explain to the Spanish workmen all our principles and ideas, and on the basis of the latter will organize the struggle of the workmen against the bourgeoisie.

"To translate this into political language it means that he will there organize a political party, and that this party will be a Communist Party.

"Comrades Rosmer and Monat will do the same thing, just as they have in the past, organizing the working class on the basis of a whole series of political resolutions and statements."

"All the Russian delegates," says Comrade Trotsky, "when they return from the Congress will have to face a whole series of questions; for example, the proposal of the Polish Government to conclude peace. Where shall we decide this question? In the trade-unions? Of course, not there. It is true, we have a Soviet of People's Commissaries, but the Soviet of People's Commissaries also requires political control and definite political direction. We shall give it this political direction on the basis of the work of the party and the political control can be carried out only by the Communist Party."¹

¹ The following extract is taken from the full text of the speech by Zinoviev on this occasion as given in a special supplement of the Moscow Pravda, August 3, 1920:

"Sometimes you hear certain comrades say: 'Oh, yes, perhaps now, in fact, we still need a party so long as we continue to live under a bourgeois order, so long as we have not seized the power in our own hands. But just as soon as we secure a victory, the party will no longer be necessary.' I talked with good German workmen, Communists, on this point and heard these words from them; and I allow myself to refer in this instance to the experience of the Russian party. It was precisely after the seizure of power by the party, and the formation of our government, that the rôle of the party not only did not decrease, but increased and grew daily. Never was the importance of the party in Russia so great as it is at the present moment, after our victory. In all important questions and decisions the effective control of the party is absolutely necessary.

"It is true that sometimes people like Kautsky say: 'You have in Russia a dictatorship not of the working class, but a dictatorship of a party.' They think that this is a reproach for us. Not at all. We have a dictatorship of the working class, and consequently also a dictatorship of the Communist Party. The dictatorship of the Communist Party is simply a function, a sign of the expression of the dictatorship of the working class. Just what is our party? One should not confuse it with other parties that are composed of lawyers. Into our party enter 600,000—700,000 of the best workmen; that is the advanced detachment of the proletariat. And it is clear that the business of the working class is being conducted by its best representatives. Thus there is established simultaneously a dictatorship of both proletariat and Communist Party. The right of control over various organizations belongs to the party. That is as it should be in time of proletarian revolution. After the victory the rôle of the party does not decrease, but on the contrary, increases."

SECOND BUSINESS SITTING.

[By telephone from Moscow.]

Organization of Committees.

The second business sitting of the Congress of the Communist International begins with the adoption of the proposal of the presiding body to form five committees to discuss the most important points of the program of the work of the Congress.

One representative from each national delegation is to enter the committees, and the Communist Labor Party of America will enter conjointly with the American Communist Party.

The announcement of this last fact is loudly applauded by the Congress. The composition of the credentials committee is announced: Bukharin, Radek, Rudniansky, Serrati, Bombacci, and Rosmer.

Zinoviev's Report.

Then Comrade Zinoviev is given the floor and reports on the work of the committee to discuss the rôle of a Communist Party in a proletarian revolution. Representatives of eight countries participate in this committee: England, Hungary, Germany, Holland, Italy, Russia, the United States of America, and France.

Among these were also revolutionary Syndicalists and representatives of the English organization, I. W. W. Nevertheless, the theses were adopted by the committee unanimously. Having announced this last fact in the midst of loud applause, Comrade Zinoviev proceeds to outline the substance of the debates in the committee, giving an analysis of the objections to the principles of centralism which were made in the committee and in open sitting:

"Where there is, as for example in France, such a weak bond between separate organizations and the revolutionary proletariat—for in France one speaks of the Party of Lyons, of the Party of the Seine and Loire, and of the Paris Party—the Communist Party must be united and must be centralized, both on an international scale and with respect to its national subdivisions, which are, in substance, for example, the national parties of Russia, America, etc.

"The need of a strong world unity of the proletariat is too evident to allow discussion of any kind of autonomy.

"Autonomy should mean, first of all, that the workmen of all countries remember constantly that the enemy for each one of them is at home, and that this enemy is the bourgeoisie and the White Socialists.

"As for the revolutionary Syndicalists, as well as the representatives of shop-stewards, we shall not follow the example of the II International, which always harrassed and persecuted all workmen who were not in agreement with its ideas.

"We shall work in conjunction with all honest and honestly misguided workmen, and together with them we shall learn and make mistakes, because fundamentally, in our class aims and ideals, we represent with them a single proletarian revolutionary whole."

The theses are adopted unanimously.¹

¹ NOTE.—The complete text of this plank in the platform of the Communist International is given in translation in Section II herein.

THIRD SITTING OF CONGRESS.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 28, 1920.]

Lenin's Report on National and Colonial Questions.

On July 26 the Congress listened to Comrade Lenin, who made a report upon the results of the work of the committee of the Congress on national and colonial questions.

"The fundamental characteristics of imperialism," says Comrade Lenin, "is the dividing up of the world into a small handful of oppressors and an overwhelming majority of oppressed.

"At the present moment 70 per cent of the entire population of the globe—that is, more than one and three-fourths billion people—are under the yoke of imperialist powers. This yoke expresses itself in the most varied forms of exploitation of man by man. This question acquires great importance, and as a result of its complicated and varied character in different countries it is one of particular difficulty.

"The Soviet idea is spreading everywhere, even in the most backward countries. As a result the question has come up, and was discussed in the committee, whether the Communist International should support the bourgeois-democratic movements in backward countries, should support the bourgeois-democratic parties of oppressed nationalities.

"We came to the conclusion that the bourgeois-democratic parties of oppressed nationalities are of various kinds. Some of them have adopted reformist tactics, and are adapting themselves to the political régime existing in a given country, harmonizing their activities with the interests of the ruling countries. Of course we shall not give any support to such parties. Here we have the essential difference between Communists and reformists, because the latter support bourgeois-democratic movements in politics. However, reformists, in fact, always come out against revolutionary movements in colonies and semicolonial States. On the other hand, Communists should support the national-revolutionary movements, but only when these movements are in fact revolutionary.

"The peasantry is usually the support of such national-revolutionary movements. In such countries, the Communist Party is not able to attain success unless it supports the peasants. Here we come to the question as to what should be the work of a Communist Party in precapitalist countries (for example, our Turkestan), where one must note a practically complete absence of industrial proletariat.

"However, a Communist Party even in the precapitalist countries has a wide field for activity, inasmuch as you have in these backward countries also exploitation of the population by trading capital, and a semifeudal relationship in agriculture.

"The struggle of agricultural toilers against landlord exploitation is the basis upon which you can build an organization of toilers, even in backward countries.

"In such countries it is quite possible to establish a Soviet authority. The experiences of Russia and of various Mussulman republics—for example, Turkestan—show that the Soviet movement can be successful not only in proletarian countries, but even in those coun-

tries where precapitalist relations exist. In these countries you experience great difficulty in organizing Soviets, but without question it is possible to arouse an independent revolutionary consciousness and movement even in these countries. The Soviet idea is very simple, and can be understood not only by the proletariat, but also by the broader nonproletarian masses.

“Here we come to another very important point, which has aroused rather lively debates in the committee. Can countries with precapitalist relations in production pass to Communism without going through the period of capitalism?”

On this point Comrade Lenin notes that if the victorious proletariat, having State authority in its hands in the most developed industrial countries, will come to the assistance of the Orient with all its organization and State means, then the backward countries will be able to attain Communism without passing through the capitalist stage of development.

“One must abandon scientific prejudices that each country must absolutely pass through capitalist exploitation; the power of Soviets, when there is a powerful industrial proletariat uprising on a world scale, can be established in those countries in which the capitalist development has not attained any serious proportions.”

Very lively debates in the committee accompanied the question of the attitude of the workmen who live in the metropolis toward the revolutionary movement in colonies. Comrade Lenin on this point indicates that the refusal of the workmen of capitalist countries to support the revolutionary movement in colonies is treason with respect to the revolution, and is jingoism which is the worst form of chauvinism. “In this kind of Socialist-Patriotism lies the greatest danger for the revolution. Against this danger you must fight energetically, and not with words, but by acts. Not only must you speak of revolution in the colonies, as did the II International, but you must assist by action every colonial revolutionary movement.”

PARTY COMPOSITION OF 2nd CONGRESS.

Moscow, July 27 (Rosta).—The credentials committee has given the right of a decisive voice (vote) to 6 delegates from England, who belong to the British Socialist Party; Germany has 5 votes for the representatives of the Communist Party in Germany; of the 5 delegates from France, 2 belong to the Communist Party and 3 to the committee on the III International; Austria is represented by 4 delegates of the Austrian Communist Party; Spain is represented by Comrade Pestana, a member of the National Confederation of Labor of Spain; Hungary, 2 representatives of the Communist Party; Bulgaria, 3 Bulgarian Communists; Jugo-Slavia, 1; Italy, 3 Italian Socialists; Mexico, 2 Communists; Switzerland, 3 Communists and 2 Left Social-Democrats.

As representatives of Turkey there arrived 2 delegates of the Bureau of Communist Organizations and 1 delegate from the Communist group of Constantinople. The following countries also gave Communists: Poland, 1; Eastern Galicia, 2; Lithuania and White Russia, 2; Georgia, 5; Latvia, 3; Belgium, 1; Korea, 1; Finland, 5; Holland, 2; Armenia, 2; Azerbaidjan, 1; Russia, 63. America is

represented by three members of the Communist Labor Party and by 2 delegates from the Communist Party of the United States.

The following countries gave a mixed Communist-Socialist representation: Dutch India, 2; Norway, 8; Denmark, 2; Esthonia, 2, Czecho-Slovakia gave 2 Left Social-Democrats.

Unions of the Youth and the International of Young People were represented by 12: Germany gave 1; Russia, 4; Norway, 2; Italy, France, Switzerland, and Georgia sent 1 delegate each; the International of Young People, 2.

At the Congress there are 42 delegates with a consultative voice; 4 of these were delegated by the executive committee of the Communist International (Communists), 2 by Ireland (Communists), 5 by Italy (Communists), 2 by Latvia (Communists), 1 by Bokhara (Communist), 2 by Czecho-Slovakia (Communists).

A mixed Communist-Socialist group of delegates, with the right of consultative voice, was given as follows: Italy 6; Germany 2; Serbia 2; Esthonia 1; Austria 1; Finland 3; France 3; America and Mexico, 1 each; India and Australia, 2 each. The National League of Workmen's Youth of England gave 1 delegate with consultative voice, the Central Bureau of Chinese Workmen of Bosnia gave 2, and the Communist Bund gave 2.

IN THE SECTIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 28, 1920.]

National and Colonial Questions.

On the first day the work of the Sections is on national and colonial questions. These questions have now become practical questions of the revolutionary struggle. This is clear from the fact that so many colonial countries are represented at the Congress, such as India, Korea, China, Persia, and so forth. The II International, even in its best years, could not boast of such an international membership as we find here at the 2nd Congress of the III International. The toiling masses, many millions, of the Orient have developed closer relations. It is natural that their revolutionary representatives should be at a World Communist Congress.

European and American capitalism pitilessly repressed and oppressed the colonies, took away all the vital strength of oppressed nations, and doomed them to stagnation and ruin. Now new times have come even for the most backward and oppressed. An enormous quantity of inflammable material has accumulated everywhere.

Dutch India (Comrade Maring).—A Socialist propaganda has been conducted there for about five years. "Imported" capitalism did not permit the development of a local, native bourgeoisie; but there has been an adequate number of large-power robbers. Capitalistic development went forward, as did also the process of depriving the local population of land and of ruining the small artisans. In Dutch India (Java) there are thirty millions of Mussulmans. Of this number twenty-four millions are peasants. The proletarians number three millions. In 1912 occurred the first great mass movement, which brought into the foreground workmen and peasants. It took place under the slogan of the struggle of Islam against foreign capitalism.

A new revolutionary movement already has a history of three years. The most revolutionary elements are the railroad workers. Ten thousand of the forty thousand are already organized. At Java there worked both reformists and a revolutionary Socialist Party, the latter having now changed its name to Communist. The reformists have only a hundred members, all of them European (colonizers). In the ranks of the revolutionary Socialist Party are 1,500 Javese and 100 Europeans.

Persia (Comrade Sultan-Zade).—The importation of cheap manufactured goods from abroad contributed particularly to the ruination of the peasant masses and the small artisans. The peasant masses are cruelly exploited by the Shah's clique, and by the feudals who own estates equal in size to Belgium and Holland. There is no unity in the ruling classes. This leads to constant political strife in their midst. The agrarian aristocracy constantly looks toward "imperialist protectors." A section of the merchant groups thinks mainly of the markets of the rich metropolis, while another section sees no other way out except to remain in dependence.

A schism took place among the propertied classes in 1912, during the Russian attack on Persia. It continued even during the period of the English occupation. In view of the weakness of the ruling classes of the native society, and of the acuteness of the agrarian relations, the revolution in the Orient is inevitably taking on enormous social proportions.

The institutions of revolutionary self-administration, the Anjuman, which were in existence in the time of the first revolution, have spread rapidly throughout the whole country.

India (Comrade Roy).—In India there are 37,000,000 landless peasants. Land ownership is highly centralized; 600 to 700 princes own almost the entire territory. About 5,000,000 proletarians work in enterprises which number 500 workmen each. The Nationalist movement rests for the most part on the middle classes (in south of India). A strike revolutionary movement of proletarian masses is blazing for itself its own road.

China (Comrade Lau).—China was refused everything at the peace conference. At the present moment the Nationalist-revolutionary movement is having much success. The student youth are at its head. They organize strikes, and have close contact with workmen, who often strike on their appeals. Sometimes even the small traders also strike. The day of the Japanese ultimatum to China, May 4, 1915, has been proclaimed a day of national shame. Industrial Shanghai is the leader of the revolutionary movement, and carries on a struggle against the Southern and Northern Governments. Sun-Yat-Sen, who was formerly in the Southern Government, left and took with him only generals—adventurers.

A Socialist printed organ is published in Shanghai; there also a Left Party is active, and calls itself a Marxist Party; it stands for alliance with Soviet Russia against Japan, and for assistance to Korea. All Provinces are in the hands of governors-general; the finances are also in their hands. Therefore the Central Government is conducting systematically a selling out of China to foreign robbers. Shantung and much more was ceded to Japan. The overwhelming majority of the population are agricultural. The majority of the poor

of the cities are small artisans. The Chinese army numbers about 2,000,000, but these are hired soldiers who serve those who pay the money. In China there are no large estates (China is one big kitchen garden). There is great shortage of land. And therefore Sun-Yat-Sen himself energetically supports the policy of colonizing the border Provinces. The rural population is very much stirred up over the high taxes. An industrial proletariat is just beginning to grow up. It represents an extreme revolutionary element.

Korea (Comrade Pak).—To 1914 the nobility and the prosperous elements were the only standard bearers of the national movement. A mass revolutionary movement has begun to develop only in the last year and a half. Japan keeps Korea in colonial slavery, and therefore trade capital only is to be found there. In the north of Korea there is small land tenure. But to the south there are exclusively part-day laborers and tenants, who have to give up 70 per cent of their crop. At first some hope was put in the League of Nations. However, Left Socialists immediately raised the question squarely—Moscow or Paris. Taking advantage of the support of the Rights, America has tended to speculate on revolution in Korea. But Socialists have definitely unmasked this deception.

*Comrade Frid*¹ dwells particularly on the condition of the negroes in America. In this famous "democracy" there are three categories of oppressed people: First, the immigrant workman; second, the colonial and half-dependent peoples—Filipinos, Indians, and such; and third, negroes. The negroes number about ten millions. They are concentrated in the large industrial centers. They are absolutely without rights, and, in spite of the Constitution, have not the suffrage. Inequality as to rights with respect to everything. In South Carolina, for example, while \$35 a year is spent in schools for each white child, only \$1 is spent for a black one. Instances of mob violence and lynching are particularly frequent. Till recently many trade-unions did not take in negroes. At one time there was among the negroes a movement to return to Africa, but this movement was not successful. The negroes feel a close tie with America. On the labor market they compete with the whites. The return from Europe of 4,000,000 American soldiers led to a whole series of street conflicts over jobs in the factories. But the negroes have become quite different since the war. They are easily inflamed by revolutionary propaganda and many call themselves Bolsheviks. The organization of the Industrial Workers of the World has already begun to work among them.

The Situation in India—Report of Comrade Roy.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 29, 1920.]

Among the reports submitted to the committee on national and colonial questions, the report of Comrade Roy on the situation in India deserves special attention:

¹ NOTE.—The reports are transmitted to Moscow by telephone. In another instance the names of foreign delegates have clearly been confused in transmission. Therefore, in all probability the speaker here is John Reed, who spoke at the Congress on several occasions. A long speech by him on the negroes from the Moscow Pravda of August 8 is printed in Section II herein.

"The nationalist movement in India began to take more or less concrete form in the eighties of the last century, and found its expression in a national congress.

"This movement has embraced in its development large circles of the student youth and of the middle classes, but the appeal of the Nationalists for a struggle for the independence of India found no response in the masses of the population.

"The popular masses of India are not reached by the nationalist spirit; they are interested exclusively in questions of a social-economic character. The conditions of life of the population of India are extremely hard.

"Since English capitalism became established in India 80 per cent of the population of the country, who live by the tilling of the soil, have lost their property and become agricultural laborers. These millions of people literally go a-begging. Although they till the soil, they go hungry, because all they produce by their labor is exported. These tens of millions of people take absolutely no interest in the bourgeois capitalistic watchwords; the only slogan that will interest them is: 'The land to the land-tiller.'

"In comparison with the rural proletariat the industrial proletariat is numerically very small. There are about five million workmen in India. Among these workmen the trade-union movement is spreading rapidly. During the last years the strike movement has been spreading intensely in the working class of India. The first important strike occurred in 1906. It took in the railroad workers and assumed the form of a genuine uprising.

"There are elements in India to form a strong Communist Party. But the revolutionary movement in India, in so far as it concerns the broad popular masses, has nothing in common with the nationalist liberation movement."

On the basis of this analysis Comrade Roy arrives at the conclusion that it is necessary to eliminate from point 11 of the theses on the national problem the paragraph according to which Communist parties must assist any bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in eastern countries. The Communist International should assist exclusively the institution and development of the Communist movement in India, and the Communist Party of India must devote itself exclusively to the organization of the broad popular masses for the struggle for the class interests of the latter.

Comrade Roy defends the opinion that the revolutionary movement in Europe is absolutely dependent on the course of the revolution in the East. Without the triumph of the revolution in the Eastern countries, the Communist movement in the West may be brought to naught. World capitalism is drawing its main resources and incomes from the colonies, and principally from Asia. The European capitalists may in emergency give to the workmen the entire surplus value in order to attract them to their side and to destroy revolutionary tendencies. The capitalists themselves would continue, with the aid of the proletariat, to exploit Asia. Such a way out would be most comfortable for the capitalists. Therefore it is necessary to direct all efforts toward the development and rise of the revolutionary movement in the East and to accept as a fundamental thesis that the destiny of World Communism depends on the triumph of Communism in the East.

Comrade Welch, of the British Communist Party, answered Comrade Roy. Comrade Welch argued that we are duty bound to aid every movement against imperialism. The national liberation movement in India might not enjoy, for the time being, the sympathies of the large popular masses; but this does not mean that it will not gain them in the very near future. The English Government will find it very easy to handle the purely Communistic propaganda in the colonies and to suppress the Communist movement there. It will find it much harder to defeat the national liberation movement in a colony.

Comrade Lenin also disputed the viewpoint of Comrade Roy. In Russia we supported the liberal-liberation movement when it was taking a stand against Tsarism. The Hindu Communists are duty-bound to support the bourgeois-liberation movement without, however, merging with it. Comrade Roy goes too far in declaring that the destiny of the West will depend exclusively upon the degree of development and the strength of the revolutionary movement in Eastern countries. Notwithstanding the fact that there are five millions of proletarians and thirty-seven millions of landless peasants in India, the Hindu Communists did not succeed until the present time in establishing a Communist party in their country, and because of this single fact the views of Comrade Roy are to a large extent not well grounded.

*The account of yesterday's sitting of the Congress can not be published in this issue because of the damage to the telephone service Moscow—Petrograd.*¹

DISCUSSION OF COLONIAL AND NATIONAL POLICY.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 30, 1920.]

SITTING OF JULY 28.

The debates on the question of colonial and national policy were continued.

SPEECH OF COMRADE SULTAN-ZADE.

In the name of the Persian Communist party spoke Comrade Sultan-Zade, who called attention to the fact that the experiences of the Russian proletariat in Kirgizia, Turkestan, and other regions quite undeveloped in a capitalistic sense, have proven that the Soviet authority can be organized even in the absence of a developed industrial proletariat. This can be said even more definitely with respect to Persia, Egypt, and India, and with respect to those colonies where all the aspects of social differentiation and all political tendencies are represented.

Comrade Sultan-Zade emphasizes the fact that the social revolution in India and Persia has a broad and solid base in the proletariat, and in the semiproletariat organized there by English trade capital by destroying the native carpet and textile industries.

¹ NOTE.—The report is published in a later number (July 30), in a condensed form, and is therefore supplemented by extracts from the fuller report given in the Izvestia of July 29.

"The countries of the Orient are passing through a period of mass pauperization, associated with the period of the first accumulation of capital. Yearly over ten million persons are transferred from Asiatic colonies, while the peasantry carries on its shoulders the burden of landlords, clergy, capitalists, bureaucrats, and brigands in general."¹

Answering Comrade Roy the delegate from India, Comrade Sultan-Zade says that the social revolution will not come from the Orient and will not free Europe; but, on the other hand, the Communist International must come to the assistance of the toiling masses of the Orient in order to facilitate for them the process of social revolution.²

The Situation in China.

Comrade Lau gives an outline of the situation in China. The Versailles Conference not only gave nothing to China but sanctioned the seizure by Japan of three Chinese Provinces. The Chinese masses answered by boycotting Japanese goods and by increasing the struggle against the Northern Government.

Socialist parties in China are winning more and more influence, and publish in Shanghai a weekly which is widely distributed in China. This party supports an alliance with the Russian Soviet Republic and appeals for a struggle against the Chinese and the world bourgeoisie. The industries of China are at a standstill. The proletariat is in a most deplorable condition, and in the villages the land is being seized by the rich. The system of administration in China is a dictatorship of a military bureaucracy, with complete chaos and arbitrary methods in administration and finance.

SPEECH OF KOREAN DELEGATE.

The delegate of the Korean Communist Party, Comrade Pak, also points out that the victory of social revolution is impossible so

¹ "In addition even the ruling classes in oriental countries are not unanimous, since some are associated with the world markets and capital while others are associated with the national markets and capital. All these circumstances greatly facilitate the development of social revolution in the Orient and Persia, where already in 1905 the Soviet of Peasant Deputies—Anjumani—was organized."—(Moscow Izvestia, July 29, 1920.)

² Further, he points out that the experience of the National-Democratic movement in the Orient confirms the policy of assisting preferably the toiling masses through the intermediary of a Communist Party, rather than by supporting indefinite and unsuitable political organizations of a petty bourgeois character.

Comrade Graziadei speaks on the rôle of the Soviet Russian Republic for the development of social revolution, and expresses the opinion that its struggle against world capital at the present moment should be considered synonymous with the struggle of the III International, just as the defeat of the Paris Commune at its time represented the defeat of the I International. As for the small nations, in his opinion they did not carry on an imperialistic policy during the war, since they were powerless. After the war they can not carry on an imperialistic policy because they are themselves the object of the imperialistic maneuvers of the larger pirates. This last fact represents the full measure of their rôle in the history of the social struggle on a world scale. (Moscow Izvestia, July 29.)

long as the western bourgeoisie can draw on its resources in its colonies in the Orient for its struggle against the proletariat.¹

STATEMENT OF TURKISH DELEGATE.

Comrade Ismail-Haki speaks in the name of the Turkish toiling masses. He introduces an amendment to the resolution of Comrade Lenin on Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism.²

Protest Against Anti-Semitic Baiting.

Then speak Comrades Frumkina, Merezhin, and Kon. In the name of the Jewish proletariat they propose to the Congress to issue a strong protest against the anti-Semitic persecutions and pogroms which are being organized everywhere wherever the bourgeoisie rules, or even where there are petty bourgeois, compromise Socialist governments. They base their protest on many facts from the practice of the Governments of Pilsudski and Petlura, and also from the practices of the organizing by the English occupationary authorities of pogroms in Palestine.

Before the vote on the theses on the question of colonial and national policy Comrade Serrati announces that he believes that social revolution can and should be realized without the support of so-called national democratic parties. He therefore abstains from voting. The resolution is adopted unanimously, with three abstaining from voting.

SITTING OF JULY 29, 1920.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 30, 1920.]

SPEECH OF COMRADE ZINOVIEV.

Comrade Zinoviev proposes a number of changes in the theses concerning conditions of admission to the III Communist International. He speaks of the serious peril menacing the III International and the world revolution.

¹ He then describes the struggle of the Korean revolutionists against Japan, which has been going on now for 17 months. The Japanese increased taxes by 300-350 per cent, thus arousing even the middle classes of the country against them. They did not permit the construction of factories and mills in Korea. The Korean toiling masses understand that the struggle can not give them freedom if it is conducted solely on nationalist grounds. Fighting for the overthrow of the Japanese yoke the Korean masses at the same time strive to liberate themselves from their own native landlords. Former political parties, the so-called united national bloc and the union of terrorists hope for the liberation of the Korean people under the Wilson formula. They, however, have now lost all influence and at the present moment it is the Korean Communist Party that exercises influence over the masses of the Korean toilers. (Moscow Izvestia, July 29, 1920.)

² In his opinion Pan-Islamism is the historic attempt of the Turkish sultans to unite around the Turkish peoples all other peoples enslaved by them through force of arms. Since the Turkish revolution this political tendency has been replaced by a Pan-Turkism, that is an attempt to unite all the Turkish peoples on the basis of a common origin and common language. At the present moment Pan-Turkism is just such a reactionary movement as was Pan-Islamism in its time. The Turkish toiling masses and the toiling masses of all other Turkish peoples, know that only a social revolution and the Communist International can free them from the national yoke, as well as from all other forms of social exploitation. (Moscow Izvestia, July 29, 1920.)

"After the first congress of the III International," says Comrade Zinoviev, "they hooted at us and said that the whole III International could be seated around one table. The old parties remaining under the flag of the II International did not at all express the desire to forsake it. Since then many changes have taken place. Now, under the pressure of the broad masses of workers, the old inveterate representatives of the ideology of the II International are breaking away and knocking at the door of the III Communist International."

Comrade Zinoviev emphasizes the fact that the III Communist International is not a society of propaganda: "The III Communist International is an international militant organization similar to the I International, which did not leave a single great economic strike without active support. What, however, do these people imagine their future relations to the Communist International will be, and their rôle in the world revolution?" Comrade Zinoviev cites an article by Grimm showing the necessity for the Independent Party to leave the II International and participate in the III Communist International, which should organize an international information bureau and parliamentary work through the introduction of various drafts of laws.

"The Italian opportunist Modigliani admits that he is for admission to the III International, since that entails the obligation merely to send a postal card to Moscow once in two weeks."

Comrade Zinoviev further quotes another Italian opportunist who openly and cynically admits that he remains in the party because it is the means of accomplishing definite purposes. "We are standing before the evident danger," says Comrade Zinoviev, "of filling up the Communist International with elements of this sort."

Comrade Zinoviev further gives a detailed analysis of the political structure of the Italian and German Independent Parties and of the Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Jugo-Slav "Left" Socialist parties, and says that all these parties should in the most categorical manner put a stop to all the Socialist-Pacifist, bourgeois tendencies that are building their nests in these parties.

He speaks of the III Communist International being the International of the East, which opposes the International of the West. Events have shown, however, that there is neither an International of the East nor an International of the West, but upon the one hand a Communist International, and on the other hand a bourgeois International which is trying to disorganize and demoralize the labor revolution with the aid of Socialist-Pacifist ideas.

The Communist International Will Not Be One-Sided.

Comrade Zinoviev reports that the central committee of the Russian Communist Party, analyzing the question of Socialist-Pacifists, had reached the decision that if the dilemma should arise as to a choice between a Communist International containing Socialist-Pacifist elements and solely a Russian Communist Party—at least formally we would prefer the latter: "At the present time the Socialist-Pacifists represent the most dangerous tendency in the Socialist parties."

Comrade Zinoviev expresses himself in the most categorical manner against proportional representation: "Proportional representation is

a very worthless mixture of pink lemonade, deadly poison and a neutral ingredient of some kind. We do not assemble for compliments on an international scale, for the singing of the 'International,' and other nonsense characteristic of the II International. The Communist International is a militant apparatus for throwing off the capitalistic yoke. Honeyed loyalty to Kautsky under such conditions is treachery to the working class."

Comrade Zinoviev again insists on the necessity of centralization and iron discipline, and expresses the hope that with the aid of the warlike qualities of the III International the latter will accomplish what is written on its flag—the liberation of labor.

Comrade Radek Appears.

Debate follows the report of Comrade Zinoviev.

Comrade Radek appears. He recalls the first days of the German revolution, when Soviet Russia offered her aid to the German Government, with which Haase was then connected.

"Of course, the scale upon which the proposed aid was to be given was not important, but it was extraordinarily notable and characteristic that the Socialist government, with the participation of the Independent Socialist Haase, refused that aid under the pretext that similar aid was promised to Germany by the bourgeois government of the United States of North America. This at once revealed the orientation which in reality was perfectly natural to the Socialist compromisers of Germany. The circumstance also seemed perfectly natural that the Congress of the II International busied itself with revising the Treaty of Versailles.

"Therefore we say to the working class: Be cautious, and be all the more cautious for the reason that through simply ignoring the revolution the so-called Independent Socialists often pass without much ado to treachery. In September, 1919, when Denikin and Yudenich were bending their steps toward Moscow and Petrograd—when the very existence of the Soviet Republic was in danger—Hilferding said that the Soviet Republic would go to the bottom in two or three weeks and that there was no need to bind up one's fate with Moscow.

"Hilferding and Haase do not believe in the revolution; they betray the revolution even when they formally join it."

Comrade Cachin Appears.

Comrade Cachin then takes the floor and, in his own name and that of Rosmer, reads a declaration of complete solidarity with Comrade Zinoviev, as well as with the propositions advanced by him.

Comrade Cachin in the course of his speech further points out a large number of problems arising from these propositions and theses for the French Socialist Party and promises that on his return to France he will achieve complete unity on all these theses in the French Socialist Party. He also expresses the hope that the French Socialist Party will just as unanimously join them, and that Comrade Longuet will be among the sincere adherents to the new decision.

Debates.

Comrades Lefèvre, Graziadei, Guilbeau, Herzog, Godenberg, and others participate in further debate.

All of them warn against too confiding an attitude toward the admission of individual, so-called Independent Socialist parties into the Communistic family of the III International. They recall the new display of Socialist traitors and Socialist chameleons, and draw a parallel between Cachin and Turati, and extend that parallel also to other personages in Independent Socialist parties, demonstrating that all these are traitors to and betrayers of the revolution.

“Their ideological character will not by any means be changed by their admission or nonadmission to the Communist International. This will be pasting the red label of the III Communist International on the yellow content of the compromise parties. We accept these gentlemen only because the laboring masses still go with them and follow them. But the laboring masses should not make war with such means; they must be taught, they must be organized, and having been organized must be torn away from the treacherous and counter-revolutionary parties and organizations.

“Their inclusion, then, in the membership of the III International, through the instrumentality of the compromise parties, constitutes the gravest menace to the Social revolution.”

A resolution is passed by the Congress on the report of Comrade Zinoviev.

BANQUET IN HONOR OF THE CONGRESS.

Yesterday, in the Column Hall of the House of Unions, was held a concert-banquet in honor to the Congress of the III International, organized by the Moscow Soviet, the Moscow Provincial Soviet of Trade Unions, and the Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

The best artistic talent of Moscow took part in the concert. Shaliapin, Geltser, Balashova, and others performed. The official part of the program concluded with a rendering of “Dubinushka,” by Shaliapin. The concert lasted until 3 a. m.

EVENING SITTING OF JULY 29.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 31, 1920.]

STATEMENTS OF THE GERMAN INDEPENDENTS.

The evening sitting of July 29 begins with the appearance upon the floor of Dittmann and Crispian, representatives of the Party of Independents of Germany, who in their speeches note the evolution of their party, which now numbers within its ranks some millions of workers of the most revolutionary portion of the German proletariat.

“It may be,” they say, “that our party committed many crimes in the past, but it is now straightening out its political lines. A number of the largest demonstrations recently took place in Berlin, under

the banner of the Independent Party, and with the slogan: 'Hands off Soviet Russia.'" "The refusal of the Congress to include the Party of the Independents in the III International," says Comrade Dittmann, "may have serious consequences for the German revolution. The German proletariat can not remain without an international policy and international ties, and perhaps it will be compelled to create its own international organization."

In response to these representations, Comrade Lozovsky and a number of other orators warn the Congress against including the Party of Independents of Germany in the III International, for experience has shown that in the fateful moment of the revolution, the German Mensheviks, as well as those of Russia, may find themselves on the other side of the barricade and betray the German revolution.¹

¹ The Moscow *Izvestia* of July 31, 1920, gives the following longer report on this sitting:

The evening sitting begins with a statement by Comrade Milkich, who says that the analysis of the program and tactics of the party of Yugo-Slavia, made by Comrade Zinoviev is correct in so far as it refers to the past: "At the present moment our party is a purely Communistic one, and has nothing in common with opportunism. We still have certain individuals who act like reformists and opportunists. But the party as a whole is struggling energetically against these elements, which are to be found in every Communist Party, and even in the party of Bolsheviks," Comrade Milkich brings forward many facts of a documentary character, which prove the genuinely Communistic line taken by the Yugo-Slavian Party.

He says that the party in both its legal and illegal activity aims to realize the Soviet authority, appeals to the masses and organizes Soviets, and that many of the responsible workers of this party, including one member of the central committee, have been turned over to military courts as a result of their activity.

Comrade Bombacci believes that no dispute can arise on the essence of the question that has been raised at the Congress. To admit non-Communist parties into the Communist International would be the same as to admit the entire II International into the III International. The position of the II International, and of its separate organizations, is absolutely clear, so far as it has manifested itself during the 30 years of its existence. Making specific reference to the Italian Socialist Party, Comrade Bombacci affirms that 70 per cent of its leaders are reformists. Therefore, on principle, there should not be even discussion of admitting to the III International the German Independent Party or the French Socialist Party. If, however, as a matter of tactics, it seems necessary to do so, then the only way out of the situation is to institute the strictest reregistration of all members of the parties admitted, like the constant reregistration which has become part of the system of the Russian Communist Party. In general, it is necessary to resort to this method of including in the communist family alien elements only where there is an extreme emergency, and always on the condition of reregistration.

Comrades Poliano, Mayer, and Wynkoop also express themselves most categorically against admitting to the III International the Independent Party of Germany.

Comrade Lozovsky also speaks against admitting into the III International all political organizations which do not state formally, why, with whom, and on what platform they wish to unite. Comrade Lozovsky recalls the rôle of the Russian Mensheviks at the beginning of the October (1917) revolution, who proposed to disarm the workmen and to admit the Cossacks into Petrograd on the verbal guarantee that no mass killing of workmen would be allowed. "The elements of the Centre," says Comrade Lozovsky, "may very well perform a similar service for the III International in all those countries where the revolution is at the stage where we were in October, 1917."

The floor is then given to the delegates of the German Independent Party, Comrades Crispien and Dittmann.

Comrade Crispien notes with satisfaction that the members of the III International are evidently well informed as to what is going on in Germany. He speaks of that very difficult task which presented itself to the German Socialists when war was declared. The conditions of military dictatorship, the enormous

SITTING OF JULY 30, 1920.

WHAT PARTIES TO ADMIT TO THE III INTERNATIONAL.

The sitting of July 30 begins with Comrade Rakovsky on the floor, who dwells in detail on the expulsion of the Russian Embassy from

apparatus (one million members of the legal party and two and one-half million members of trade-unions)—this was the enormous mass, among which the handful of Socialist leaders had to try, with the greatest difficulty, to fix their line of policy. From the beginning of the war this line could be made clear only in a very restricted illegal literature.

In the latter part of his speech Crispien tries to give an analysis of the charges directed against the German Independent Party by individuals taking part in these debates. He says that the party has of course made many mistakes, but that its leaders are acting not under the pressure of the masses, but in accordance with their own convictions. The masses elect these leaders because they trust them, because they know them, and know them not only by their words but also by their deeds.

The composition of the Independent Party is proletarian and not petty bourgeois as is that of the followers of Scheidemann. "We ourselves understood," says Comrade Crispien, "that a schism was necessary, that among us there were elements which should not be with us; but a schism is a bitter necessity, and we must take this necessary step only with the greatest caution. It is necessary to remember that the revolutionary elements of Germany are now still scattered in four parties: Independents, Sparticides, the Communist Labor Party, and one party with anarchist tendencies."

In conclusion, Comrade Crispien expresses confidence that the Congress will take the point of view of reuniting sincerely revolutionary elements, as otherwise the revolution in Germany will find itself face to face with new and very serious obstacles. "However, whatever your decision," concludes Comrade Crispien, "we shall leave this Congress with a feeling of sincere conviction that we are comrades no matter how we look on each other. Of course, the millions of workmen who are members of the German Independent Party can not be deprived of the right to participate in international activity and to have international connections. If the Congress does not admit us to the III International, then we shall be obliged to create our own international organization.

Comrade Dittmann then speaks, explaining in detail the rôle of the German Party of Independents in those organizations which were established as links between the Russian Soviet Republic and the Republic of Germany from the very first day of the revolution.

He says that Haase, in his conversation with Comrade Radek about the two trains with grain, which the latter proposed to send in the name of the Russian Soviet Republic, immediately declared that he saw that this proposal was first of all a symbol of the international solidarity of the proletariat. From this point of view the further line of conduct of Haase is in part to be explained, when he refused to take the grain from the starving Russian workmen, being able to do this on the account of the capitalistic United States of America.

The expulsion of Comrade Joffe was decreed before the Independents became members of the Government (German); they immediately demanded his return, but were not successful.

The arrest of Comrade Radek took place mainly because of the threats of the Right Socialist section of the government which acted on the basis of the possibility of a breaking off of the armistice with the English and French, whose interests were affected by the activity of Comrade Radek.

As for the conduct of the Independent Party in the recent period, it is sufficient to note those great demonstrations which took place in Berlin under the slogan "*Hands off Soviet Russia.*"

Comrade Dittmann insists that the Independents have always felt their duty of solidarity with the Russian proletariat and with the Russian revolution. Individual statements of individual members of the party perhaps compromised the latter, but they were not able to alter its attitude and the general political line, or even becloud these. At the present moment, with the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the Right Socialists becoming very acute, it is necessary that the proletariat should close up its ranks on an international scale.

Berlin, and the refusal to permit a Russian mission in Austria. He shows that these facts, like other facts indicating the hostile attitude of the bourgeois government of Germany toward the Soviet Republic, were quite natural and inevitable. "Nor are we surprised at the circumstances that Comrades Dittmann and Crispian, representatives of the German Party of Independents, do not understand, and did not understand earlier, that the collaboration of classes can not produce any other results. They do not understand that up to the present they have been essentially servitors of the Right Wing Socialists and of the Entente, and that gives rise to the fear that they will remain the same henceforth."

Comrade Rakovsky lays upon the party of Independents the responsibility for the defeat of the proletarian social revolution in Germany, a defeat which was the result of compromise tactics.

Comrade Rakovsky uses even sharper language in referring to the representatives of the French Socialist Party. He notes a number of reservations and omissions in the declaration of the French Socialist Party, reservations which leave open a wide field for all sorts of changes of political lines, and even for treason and treachery.

Comrade Rakovsky proposes to augment the controlling power of the Central Communist International and give it the right of broad and effective direction over the activities of individual organizations.

Thereupon Comrade Serrati takes the floor, who says that the Italian Socialist Party strives for the accomplishment of a world revolution. "We are procuring," says Comrade Serrati, "the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, who are responsible for the war. We will procure this with the aid of the proletariat, and with the aid of those resources which the proletariat has at its command. All those who are capable of carrying on revolutionary struggles for our common aims should be admitted to the Communist International. Who, then, is capable of carrying on this struggle?" Analyzing the political situation of individual countries Comrade Serrati does not find ground for revolution in France, and adds that for this very reason the French Socialist Party should not be admitted to the International. "We observe just opposite conditions in Germany," says Comrade Serrati, "where the revolution is already an actual fact. The Party of Independents in Germany therefore should be included in the membership of the III International."

"So far as Italy is concerned, she is experiencing distressing economic difficulties and a decline of the powers of the State. Discontent is growing every day among the workers and peasantry. A revolution in Italy is inevitable and we shall accomplish it. So far as the opportunist elements of our party are concerned, of course, there can be no dispute about that on principle. The only question is as to when we must get rid of them. And in this sense we would ask to be allowed to take advantage of the most favorable moment we may find to do this with the maximum utility for the cause of the revolution."

Comrade Serrati dwells in detail on the activities of certain Italian opportunists and shows that they are after all of much benefit to the party and to the revolution. "If they should attempt to do us any harm," concludes Comrade Serrati, "then we will know how to do our duty to the Italian and world revolutions."

STATEMENT OF COMRADE LENIN.

The floor is taken by Comrade Lenin, who goes into a detailed analysis of the speech of the Independent Crispian. Comrade Lenin says that the speech of Crispian is a valuable document, setting forth as it does the position of the right wing of the Independents in Germany. He also remarks that the view of Crispian on the dictatorship of the proletariat identifies him in the closest manner with Kautsky. Similarly it is not accidental that Crispian maintains complete silence about the struggle of tendencies both in the Congress and the Party of Independents. In his capacity as one who showed up the opportunism of the Independent Party in a clear light, Comrade Lenin notes their break, that came too late, with the Scheidemannists.

Comrade Lenin then gives an analysis of the views of the Independent Party, or rather of their Right Wing, upon terror and violence. Comrade Lenin asks what the course of the Independent Party in Germany would be toward the murders of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and toward the reactionary officers, speculators, marauders, Krupp, Stumm. Toward certain elements of the counter-revolution, any other policy, a policy not connected with violence and terror is completely unthinkable. *No dictatorship of the proletariat is to be thought of without terror and violence against the bitter foes of the proletariat and the laboring masses.*

"You say," continues Comrade Lenin, "that Kautsky no longer has any influence in your party. But do you know that you yourself are a living example of the fact that through you, through your mind and feelings, and your ideology, he is exerting his pernicious bourgeois influence on the masses in the Independent Party of Germany? *We can not work with Kautsky in the same International.*

"We are also unwilling in according admission to the International to be guided by an analysis of the political situation in a country, as suggested by Comrade Serrati. We existed even in the most counter-revolutionary situation in Russia—in old Russia the Bolsheviks struggled for the revolution. And, on the other hand, there were Martov and Chernov who at the height of the revolutionary conjuncture, were complete counterparts, with respect to their social significance, of the Italian Socialists Turati, Trampoline, and other opportunists. Whatever the situation may be, we must carry on the necessary fight against the opportunists, and in view of the revolutionary situation, a still more bitter fight than at a moment of the decline in the revolutionary struggle."

Following Comrade Lenin the Spartacide Comrade Levi speaks and sharply objects to the admission of the German Independent Party to membership in the Communist International. Comrade Levi offers much documentary data, in his opinion convicting the Independent Party of systematic deviation from true revolutionary lines and of inclination to Wilsonism and to compromise.¹

¹A somewhat longer account of this sitting, giving speeches from other foreigners and a speech by Zinoviev, is found in the *Izvestia* of August 1, 1920, from which the following extracts are taken:

Ember-Droz supports the same thought in relation to the Swiss Party, which does not even recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat.

SITTING OF AUGUST 2.

[Petrograd Pravda, August 3, 1920.]

IN MEMORY OF SOVIET HUNGARY.

The session opens under the presidency of Comrade Zinoviev.

Before the opening Comrade Zinoviev calls the attention of the delegates to the fact that August the 2d is the anniversary of the downfall of Soviet power in Hungary, a year since the event that brought about the death of Comrade Samuelli and thousands of other comrades—revolutionary workmen and peasants. He proposes to honor the memory of the fallen by rising, and expresses confidence that the Hungarian Republic will soon come to life again, to the horror of the Hungarian and the world bourgeoisie.

Comrade Dauemig describes the evolution of the political frame of mind of the laboring masses, entering and now to be found in the Socialist Party of Independents, and speaks of those difficulties which confront the leaders of the party in the process of guiding the revolutionary line of the party.

Comrade Stecker states that in the Congress and in private conversation with him, various comrades expressed the wish that the Independent Socialist Party of Germany should be differentiated definitely, and bring about a schism. Comrade Stecker admits that there exist in the ranks of the party of Independents certain tendencies and views upon the dictatorship of the proletariat, upon the Constituent Assembly and upon the Soviet system, but that the entire conjuncture of the political life of Germany and the natural development of ideas within the party of Independents at the present moment do not yet dictate a schism: "We have an army a million strong of revolutionary peasants, but we also have counter-revolutionary peasants. In counterdistinction to our Russian comrades we have an army a million strong of proletarian Intelligentsia—technicians, commercial employees, etc.—who will class-consciously defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and facilitate its realization. So far as terror and the use of violence are concerned, there is no difference of opinion among us on that question. I myself said at Leipzig that under certain conditions revolutionary terrorism is a necessity. When the German revolution begins to feel the knife at its throat, as was felt by our Russian comrades, that necessity will be a real one. The difference between the evolution of the Russian Communist Party and that of the Party of Independents is explained by the fact that we had no sort of connections with Russia. Not only we, but all other Communist parties represented here, were not interested in the question of terror and threw no light on it in their program." In conclusion, Comrade Stecker expresses confidence that other representatives of the Independents will also remain revolutionists and, in Germany, will go hand in hand with the Communist Party.

In the closing speech Comrade Zinoviev summarized the debate which took place on his report. He again emphasizes the dangers which threaten the III International, through association with parties retaining opportunistic lines of action, such as the French Socialist Party and the German Independents. At the same time he strongly insists on the necessity of purging those parties of the reformist elements which have already joined the III International, such as the Italian, Danish, and the Norwegian. He finds that the orators replying to him not only did not refute his assertions, but, on the contrary, only corroborated them. But at the same time, Comrade Zinoviev, with no little firmness, replies to those comrades of the "Left" who categorically rejected all thought of admitting intermediary parties under any sort of conditions whatsoever. He calls such a point of view "futurism," using an expression uttered by Comrade Guilbeau, and calls it, besides, a very superficial and frivolous one. It is very important for the International not to thrust aside those masses who come in the wake of intermediary parties, but on the contrary to attract them to its ranks.

In conclusion, Comrade Zinoviev proposes to refer the question to the committee for the final working out of resolutions.

The Congress so orders.

Comrade Zinoviev concludes his speech with the exclamation: "*Soviet Hungary is dead—long live Soviet Hungary!*"

THE PROBLEM OF THE INDEPENDENTS.

Comrade Dittmann (Germany) is given the floor and he reads a written statement of Comrade Crispian (Germany), who was taken ill, wherein the latter protests against certain speakers who put him in the category of Socialist-Pacifists. He states that in the course of 26 years of revolutionary activity he has always professed and preached the idea of class struggle, and only through such struggle will the destruction of capitalistic exploitation be accomplished.

Comrade Wynkoop proposes to consider the question whether or not the Congress has instructed the Executive Committee to continue negotiations with the Independents.

Comrade Radek objects, as he considers that the question has already been decided in the positive, by the vote on the resolution on the report covering this point.

The motion of Comrade Wynkoop is rejected.

The floor is given to Comrade Bukharin to report on the question of parliamentarism.

REPORT ON PARLIAMENTARISM.

Comrade Bukharin begins his report by stating that he will give the general content of the resolutions adopted by the Committee on the question of parliamentarism. On the concrete amendments to the theses proposed by the executive committee of the III International, a further report will be made by Comrade Wolfstein (Germany), and Comrade Bordiga (Italy) will make a supplementary report.

Comrade Bukharin first draws a parallel between the rôle of parliamentarism before the World War and the evolution of this rôle during the war: "The period of peace in the development of imperialism is characterized first of all by a community of interests of the imperialistic bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the metropolis (in any case of a certain portion of the more skilled elements of this proletariat). It is this community of interests that Kautsky denies so stubbornly in his writings. This community of interests is reflected in the fact that the trade-unions of the yellow Social Democracy and other organizations of the proletariat have, so to speak, become a bourgeois apparatus of State power. Parliamentary representation also has been one of the forms under which an organization of the proletariat became, in fact, an apparatus of capitalist oppression.

"During the war, however, the elements of the proletariat that had penetrated into the bourgeoisie came more and more to lose their influence on those organizations of the proletariat which were becoming the weapons of class struggle, and the means of destroying the apparatus of class oppression, the means of overthrowing the bourgeois state in the struggle for a new order. That is why parliamentarism at the present moment has retained for us its significance. For us it does not represent what it does for the reformists, namely,

a method of solving certain concrete demands; *for us it is merely the arena for our conflicts with the bourgeoisie*, and a means of agitation and propaganda among toilers, a means for organizing the wide popular masses around our flag.

Membership of Parliamentary Fractions of the Proletariat.

"If one analyzes from this point of view the membership of the most important parliamentary fractions of the proletariat, one finds the membership of such absolutely unsatisfactory.

"The Socialist Independent Party in Germany counts 82 deputies, of whom only 20 are Communists, 20 absolutely definite reformists, while 40 will be the 'marsh.'

"The best Socialist Party that belongs to the Communist International is the Italian Socialist Party. What do we find here? It appears that in this party 30 per cent are adherents of Turati, i. e., Rights and definite reformists and opportunists, 55 per cent form the group of Serrati, and only 15 per cent of its parliamentary delegation will be the Left Revolutionary Wing of the group of Bombacci.

"The French parliamentary fraction consists of 68 deputies, of whom 40 are definitely opportunists, 26 delegates from the group of the Center, and only 2 revolutionary Socialists.

"The Norwegian party has in its parliament 19 deputies, of whom 11 are Rights, 6 belong to the group of the Center, and only 2 are Lefts.

"Thus the working class is represented in parliaments by opportunists and reformists, and at best by the Center—that is, the Center of a Socialist Party which is analogous in its composition to the German Independent Party.

"And what does this party of Independents really represent?"

Characterization of the Independents.

Comrade Bukharin recalls a conversation with Haase, who, of course, considered himself a revolutionary and proudly referred to his speeches as confirming his opinion of himself. He indicated to Bukharin a speech of his in which he pointed out that the sending of troops to Finland was a violation of popular interests. As though the sending of troops to France, or to Russia, or to any other country is not the violation of popular interests.

Bukharin takes several other facts from the speeches of Haase, and says that it is really laughable that Haase and other members of the party of Independents continued to consider themselves revolutionaries when in the very speeches which they believed to be most revolutionary they appeared opportunistic in relation to the entire group of the Independents.

He gives also several citations from a speech of Oscar Cohn, who speaks of the "danger of exaggerating one's strength," and of other things, but does not say a word about Moscow. And Kautsky refers to Moscow only when he finds it necessary to condemn "terror and violence."

"The Independents wish to decide questions of actual life by parliamentary methods. They introduce projects of law and amendments

to such, as though this can give any result within the framework of the rule of capitalistic society.

“Comrade Dittmann says that they were not able to carry out the resolutions of the Leipzig party congress on adherence to the III International, because they were ‘busy with the elections to parliament.’ Is it surprising that they do not understand the enormous significance for revolution of the decision of the Leipzig party congress? Can one be surprised that the Independents do not make the decision of this congress on adherence to the III International the fundamental watchword of their election campaign? They do not understand the significance of present parliamentarism for revolution. They do not understand that a parliament is only a tribune, merely a weapon of revolutionary struggle, simply the organization of the broad toiling masses for the inevitable armed struggle between exploiters and the exploited.

Antiparlamentarism of American I. W. W.

“This is the character of parliamentary opportunism. We find much more sympathetic the antiparlamentarism of the American Industrialists (I. W. W.), who instinctively feel a distrust of, and a proper hatred for, opportunistic parliamentarism. But when, like Comrade Hortwig, they try to build a theoretic foundation for their negative attitude toward all parliamentarism, it has a quite different significance, and we should condemn absolutely such an attitude. The American Industrialists (I. W. W.) simply do not understand political struggle and with naïve frankness believe that the general strike, for example, is a question of industrial struggle, and not of political struggle. And, on the other hand, they think that yellow parliamentarism is properly understood political struggle. When they oppose the general strike to yellow parliamentarism they quite properly give preference to the first method of struggle. This is coarse empiricism on the part of American workmen who know very well the character of the parliamentarism of yellow Socialists, and of the Gompers’ band. But when Comrade Hortwig develops the theory that not only cooperation but even contact with the bourgeoisie is sinful, then his assertions do not deserve attention.”

In answering Comrade Hortwig, Bukharin calls the attention of the Congress to the fact that sometimes Soviets of Workmen’s Deputies, consisting exclusively of workmen, nevertheless take a line that is purely reformist: “But even in the most reactionary institutions, in the most active capitalistic institutions of exploitation, we must have our own men, or if one can so express oneself, our spies.

“Activity in parliaments for the revolutionist contains the maximum of danger. I believe that many are opponents of revolutionary parliamentarism simply because they are afraid to hold these most dangerous revolutionary positions. Russian Bolsheviks worked in the Imperial Duma under the Tsar’s régime, and in the Constituent Assembly. They did not fear contact with the bourgeoisie because they went into these institutions not for reform work, but for revolutionary struggle.

“And all three parliaments (Russian) in which we took part performed a great service for the revolution.

Revolutionary Parliamentarism.

"You have not yet experienced parliamentarism. When you will have worked as we have, when you will organize parliamentary scandals, when in the parliament you will begin violating parliamentary rules of procedure, when they begin arresting you and turning you over to be tried by courts, and when you will use the parliamentary rules of procedure, not for agitation and propaganda, but to organize the workmen for the purpose of 'direct action' and other forms of revolutionary struggle—then you will understand just what revolutionary parliamentarism is.

"In western Europe, not to speak longer of Russia, the revolutionary expediency of all these methods of class struggle has been clearly established by the activity of Comrade Liebknecht. If a party is genuinely proletarian and genuinely Communistic, then it has no reason to fear contact with the bourgeoisie, because such contact is for it simply a new conflict and a new phase of the class struggle."

SITTING OF AUGUST 2.

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 4, 1920.]

DEBATE ON THE REPORT OF COMRADE BUKHARIN.

The Italian delegate Comrade Bordiga expresses the thought that the experience of the Russian revolution and of the Russian Communist Party could not always be applied in practice in Western European revolutions. Parliamentarism in the West at the present time is a mask which hides from the proletariat the apparatus of its oppression. Democratic representation in parliament should therefore be abolished. This is absolutely necessary in order to give the class struggle the requisite distinctness.

The representative of English labor, Comrade Consler, then comes forward and emphasizes the fact that the Communist Party in England is still in the primary stage of its development, and discourses on parliamentarism disturb its revolutionary work.

In the name of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Comrade Shablin comes forward and shows that the experience of parliamentary activities in the Bulgarian Communist Party indicates that revolutionary activity in parliament is possible and expedient.

The floor is then taken by a second English representative of labor, Comrade Murphy, who in the most decisive and determined manner defends the theses of Bukharin.

"Hostility toward reformatory parliamentarism," he says, "can not serve as a reason on principle for objecting to revolutionary Communistic parliamentarism."

The floor is then given to Comrade Lenin.

SPEECH OF COMRADE LENIN.

Comrade Lenin, replying to Comrade Bordiga, shows that the reactionary rôle of parliament by no means obviates the necessity of carrying on revolutionary work in that parliament: "During the

Kerensky period the revolutionary significance of the Soviets was not worth a broken penny, but no one for a moment doubts the necessity of the work of the Soviets. Parliaments, like Soviets, are not casual institutions, artificially created. They reflect the real relations of life. Every parliamentary crisis is essentially a reflection of crises that are real, nascent, or already accomplished in actual social life."

"You speak of the necessity of abolishing, and not utilizing, parliament. The Russian Communist Party can refer to the work which it did. We dispersed our Constituent Assembly; we already had no parliament, but we did this after the conquest of authority, after the victory over the bourgeoisie, and after the peasants and backward workmen, who were formerly represented in parliament and believed in it, had come over to our side because of our agitation from within and because we destroyed that belief. You speak of the working class being organized into syndicates, and say that these syndicates should be the arena of agitation and propaganda. But where will you organize and agitate among the peasants, clerks, and retrograde workmen who do not join syndicates? It must be frankly admitted that in this sense a parliament can not be replaced, and that not only syndicates but even Soviets can not take the place of parliaments at a certain stage of development of the revolution.

"Comrade Sukhi says that parliament will cost us very dearly. It may be that you are too weak. Perhaps you fear that you will not have sufficient means or people; that the chosen delegates will not be submissive to you; that you will not gather a sufficient number of these electors together, etc. But if you are so weak, how then can you speak of a dictatorship of the proletariat, of a victory over the bourgeoisie, of the organization of production, and of the other problems of any Communist party, which problems depend for their realization first of all on discipline, power, and means? The consciousness of weakness or the fact of this weakness is a poor argument in the working out of guiding principles. You must work. You must work for the increase of your powers, for the organization of wide masses of toilers, and for their unification by means of iron discipline in organization."

The concluding words were spoken by Comrade Bukharin, who defended the theses presented by him.

Thereupon the sitting is closed.

DAY SITTING OF AUGUST 3.

CONCERNING TRADE-UNIONS.

Comrade Radek takes the floor with a report on the question of trade-unions. He dwells on the relations which should be established between the Communist International and trade-unions. Comrade Radek says that these relations are predicated upon the position of such unions as mass organizations of the working class. It is necessary, therefore, to give a calm, businesslike analysis of the possibili-

ties which are open to the trade-union movement and to the evolution that is before it.

Comrade Radek protests against the idea that trade-unions are diseased tumors resulting from abnormal social conditions. He finds that a negative attitude toward the growth of the trade-union movement is prompted by that bitterness which was called forth by the activities of the trade-union bureaucracy. But by its very nature the growth of the trade-union movement is the growth of the organization of the laboring class, which by established usage forms its battalions into columns within the confines of its trade-union organization.

Comrade Radek further analyzes the situation of workmen in the United States and remarks that 80 per cent of them are outside of trade-unions. The conclusion was drawn that it was necessary first of all to organize the entire laboring class as far as possible and therefore to form new trade-unions, which would be summoned to activity and to an organized class struggle of the less qualified workers, those whom the aristocratic trade-unions do not honor by admission to membership in their organization.

(The proceedings were interrupted by Comrade Zinoviev, who announced the arrival of a representative of the Soviet Republic of Khiva. This representative closed his address to the congress with the following: "Long live the world-union of toilers! Long live the world-proletariat! Long live the leader of the world-proletariat, Comrade Lenin!")

Debates.

Following the appearance of the representative of the Soviet Republic of Khiva the debates on the report of Radek are continued. As associated in preparing the report on trade unions, Comrade Fraina¹ takes the floor. He considers it necessary to add to the report of Comrade Radek by pointing out the fact that the new organization of the working class, the necessity of which was set forth by Comrade Radek, is already in existence in such movements and organizations as the "I. W. W.," "Shop-Stewards," and industrial workers of the world. All these organizations are revolutionary and capable of militant activity.

Comrade Tanner next takes the floor and begins his speech with a full recognition of the soundness of the theses proposed by the committee. There can and shall be no difference of opinion on this question. He then takes up the question of the meaning of the word "shop-steward," in the new trade-union constructive effort. The "shop-steward" will undoubtedly have to play a big rôle not only in the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalistic régime but also in the organization of a world democracy upon new Communistic principles.

Thereupon the morning sitting closes.

¹ NOTE.—In the text the name is given as "Frenner," but it should read "Fraina," one of the American delegates.

NIGHT SITTING OF AUGUST 3.

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 5, 1920.]

DEBATES ON TRADE-UNIONS.

At the night sitting debates are continued on the report of Comrade Radek relating to the rôle of the trade-unions in the Communist movement.

Comrade Walter takes the floor and calls attention to the fact that before the beginning of the World War every attempt to revolutionize the trade-unions was considered utopian: "At present the political situation of the whole world has changed so considerably that we can undertake, it seems, the most intricate problems. The state of mind of the masses is excellent. And all that is necessary is to remove from the trade-union movement those elements which are leading the movement along the opportunistic and even counter-revolutionary path. It is necessary above all, to remove the bureaucracy of the trade-unions and to replace the former leaders with new ones who will be able to lead the trade-union movement in a genuinely revolutionary direction."

Comrade Bilan points out the difference between the trade-union movement of America and that of Europe, inferring that the tactics of the Communist Party within the trade-union movement in America and in Europe must be different.

Comrade Bombacci states that the theses propounded by the resolution have really one fundamental idea, as expressed in the tendency of replacing the political parties of the proletariat by trade-union organizations. Bombacci finds this tendency unacceptable, and expresses the opinion that a revolutionary rôle is unnatural to the trade-union organizations.

The next speaker is Comrade Lozovsky, who devotes his speech mainly to the defense of the trade-unions against accusations regarding their negative political activity. Comrade Lozovsky does not agree with the opinion of Bombacci that the trade-union movement always will be outside the Communist and revolutionary influences: "If we shall hold to the opinion that the trade-unions are bound to be either reactionary or opportunistic, then who will conduct the revolution? For revolution is possible only when it has behind it the large popular masses and mainly the working class. If this is not so, then the Communist movement will produce no results. To take this attitude toward the working masses, and particularly to those organized in trade-unions, is impossible." "Similarly," states Comrade Lozovsky, "it would be unacceptable to consider the proposition of postponing the acquisition of influence in the trade-union organizations until a happy future. This happy future—that is, the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the organization of national economy upon Communist foundations—will be impossible if we shall not find support for our struggle in the organized working classes."

A resolution is introduced in the name of the bureau to conclude the discussion. As the reason for this resolution it is stated that the question of trade-unions and factory committees has been discussed

three times in detail by the executive committee, that six debates of a special committee were devoted to this question, and at a plenary sitting one official speaker, two additional speakers, and several other orators already expressed their opinions.

The resolution of the bureau is adopted by an overwhelming majority.

The theses of the committee on the question of the trade-unions and factory committees were adopted unanimously.

DAY SITTING OF AUGUST 4.

THE LAND QUESTION.

The session opens under the presidency of Comrade Zinoviev.

Comrade Balabanova takes the floor and informs the Congress of the tragic death of Comrade Augustina Ausin. Comrade Balabanova speaks of the 20 years of self-denying revolutionary struggle of the dead comrade, adding that although Comrade Ausin died because of an unfortunate aerial accident, nevertheless the bitterness and hardship resulting from this loss can not be mitigated. Comrade Balabanova expresses sentiments of ardent sympathy for the Norwegian comrades.

Comrade Zinoviev proposes in the name of the bureau to telegraph to the Norwegian comrades expressions of sympathy. The proposition is accepted.

After this Comrade Mayer speaks as the reporter on the land question, and says that the moment has arrived when in relation to the land question, not theoretical discussions must be conducted, but on the contrary it is necessary to begin with the working out of a program of practical measures. Such practical measures are the theses of Comrade Lenin.

Comrade Mayer dwells on the subject of the development of the land movement in different countries. Analyzing the social situation and the social antagonism of the semiproletariat and the peasantry, he states that they (in any case a large majority) could be brought over to the side of the revolution: "We must therefore organize them on the basis of material interests, and of the satisfaction of their needs." Comrade Mayer draws a picture of the economic collapse that began after the World War, and points out the changes brought about by the war in the condition of small-propertied peasants.

"It will be necessary to unite social elements of this kind into Soviets and associations, as well as on a political basis.

"A more difficult problem appears to be that of the middle peasant. The middle peasant represents quite an important group of the population, which must be at least neutralized during the process of the struggle for the revolution, if it can not be brought over to the revolution. The experience of Soviet Russia and the Russian revolution proved that this is possible. Therefore, it will be necessary to build up a program of wide and practical aid to the village. It is also necessary to organize Soviets in the village, which would isolate the poor from the middle peasantry, and also from the numerous counter-revolutionary elements—the village rich peasants. The rich peas-

antry must be destroyed and completely strangled, and only by such means as adopted by the Russian revolution."

In concluding Comrade Mayer speaks of the strike movement in the village and of means for regulating it. He also speaks of separate additions and changes which were embodied in the theses during the process of their consideration in the committee.

After the report of Comrade Mayer debates take place. *Comrade Graziadei* expresses his satisfaction with the approach to the question on the peasantry reflected in the theses of Lenin. Comrade Shablin reports on the work which was conducted in the village by the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Comrade Serrati states that he will refrain from voting because he considers incorrect the position recommended in the theses with reference to the small-propertied peasantry. He declares that in Italy, and very likely in other countries, this peasantry not only sustained no losses from the war but, on the contrary it positively became rich during this period. He explains this misapprehension by the circumstance that the Congress represents mainly the industrial workers, who are very little acquainted with the situation in the village: "The small-propertied peasantry is in a state of constant struggle with the farm hands because of the contradiction of their interests. If we seek the sympathies of this peasantry we shall lose all influence over the agricultural proletariat."

Comrade Sokolnikov contests the opinion of Serrati and believes that there should exist most serious doubts on the question of the well-being of the peasants. The peasantry perhaps has in its possession sufficient amounts of paper money, perhaps even gold, but it does not have the most necessary farm implements, and besides, it is like the rest of the population, perhaps to a greater degree even, in extreme dependence on speculators, bankers, and exporters of the capitalistic countries. The process of the proletarianization and the pauperization among the small-propertied peasants is developing in a very large extent, and therefore the tactics with respect to the small-propertied peasantry, as proposed in the theses of Comrade Lenin, is founded upon sound principles. Further, in reply to Comrade Graziadei, Comrade Sokolnikov states that our relation to the peasantry is based upon the deeply scientific Marxian analysis of its social situation and its social rôle. Concluding his speech, Comrade Sokolnikov says that the tactics and program of the Russian Communist Party are established upon a genuine Marxian point of view.

Comrade Lefèvre also does not agree with Comrade Serrati, and says that the gulf between the interests of the small-propertied peasantry and the agricultural proletariat does not appear to him to be real. On the basis of his own experience he is fully able to confirm the opposite, and particularly that in France there exists a complete and close solidarity between the farm proletariat and the peasantry. He says, further, that the proposition of Comrade Graziadei regarding an allowance to be given to the incapacitated landowners, consisting of a special pension, is absolutely unacceptable, inasmuch as no question was raised in reference to such pensions for the remaining elements of the population.

The theses are then put to a vote, and adopted unanimously.

NIGHT SITTING OF AUGUST 4.

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 6, 1920.]

DISCUSSION OF CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

The evening sitting was devoted to the discussion of questions of organization. On the question of the constitution and by-laws of the III International, the Bulgarian delegate Kabakchiev speaks. Comrade Kabakchiev considers the fundamental principle of the whole organization of the III International to be the solidarity of the world proletariat on the basis of an armed struggle against the bourgeoisie, of the overthrow of the capitalist order and of the organization of a Communist economic order.

"The III International is not satisfied with a verbal declaration of this or that political party, of its solidarity with the principles that have just been set forth, and with the verbal agreement to pursue the aims indicated by the III International. The executive committee of the Communist International will see to it that the entire practice of the parties that enter the International, as well as their tactics, should coincide fully with the principles of the International, and with the interests of the development of the world revolution.

"Further, it is not the cooperation from the viewpoint of ideology in the activity of parties entering the International that is of definite importance for the world proletariat; it is the coordination of those methods through which the tasks are to be realized. Specifically, an absolutely necessary condition for the activity of any party of the III International is the maintenance by it of the strictest iron discipline within its ranks, and the preserving of the highest quality in its membership. Only under such circumstances can the conditions be guaranteed that will make historically inevitable the victory of the proletariat on a world scale, and also reduce to a minimum the losses it will suffer during the conflicts with its class enemies."

Comrade Kabakchiev takes up the objections which may be made to his report. He considers particularly important the objection that may be made with reference to the establishment of the principle of "armed struggle." He considers it absolutely necessary to emphasize that the world proletariat can attain a victory over the world bourgeoisie only if it will take up arms: "Only by an uprising, by the creating of a class army, and by decisive, irreconcilable armed struggle can power be wrested from the hands of the exploiters, and the yoke of the capitalist order thrown off."

"From this point of view it is absolutely necessary to follow up the defeated bourgeoisie, disorganize and demoralize it, suppress its resistance, etc."

Comrades Bilan, Wynkoop, Levi, Reed, and Fraina speak in opposition to this view and introduce a whole series of amendments to the proposed theses.

Comrade Zinoviev opposes the amendments introduced and defends the principle of organizing a trade-union section to be attached to the III International. The purpose of this section is to carry out the task which is the basis of the III International, inherited by the latter from the fundamental principles of the I Inter-

national. This task consists in getting possession of the entire world proletariat, and not simply of its political parties. With respect to the trade-union movement, this work should be carried out by a special organ attached to the Communist International. Such an organ is the projected trade-union section.

On the question of the executive committee of the III International, Comrade Zinoviev says that this committee should not be looked upon as a luxury, to support which each party has to assign one of its best workers; it is a prime necessity. For the world revolution one must have a powerful, authoritative, and well-informed representation of the world revolutionary proletariat. Comrade Zinoviev proposes that there should be delegated to the executive committee of the III International primarily the general secretaries of the parties, because the Communist International is not a society of propaganda, but is the general staff of the revolutionary proletariat.¹

Comrade Zinoviev reports that during the last month in the United States of America about 5,000 Communists have been arrested. Such facts are now general, representing attacks by the bourgeoisie on the local organizations of the proletariat. It is also known clearly that the bourgeoisie at any moment and in several countries may destroy the legal parties of the proletariat, and annul completely the principle of freedom. In view of this fact, and so that the proletariat should not remain absolutely helpless and disorganized in the face of the destruction of its legal organization, it is absolutely necessary to organize parallel illegal Communist institutions of proletarian revolution.

The theses on the constitution and by-laws are submitted to a vote and adopted unanimously. In view of the fact that there is not a single protest or single adverse vote to these theses, Comrade Zinoviev proposes that they do not go into a committee but be considered as adopted by the plenary session. This proposal is put to a vote and adopted.

EVENING SITTING OF AUGUST 5.

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 7, 1920.]

CREDENTIALS OF AMERICAN DELEGATES.

The evening sitting of August 5 starts with a communication from Comrade Radek, that the credentials committee has received a de-

¹ Extract from fuller Text of Zinoviev's Speech at Evening Sitting of August 4 (Izvestia, Aug. 6, 1920): Then Comrade Zinoviev takes up the objections raised on the question of the site of the executive committee of the III International. He answers Comrade Wynkoop, who for some reason or other imagined that the executive committee of the III International would be an extension of the central committee of the Russian Communist Party. "According to the proposed project of constitution the executive committee of the III International will be composed of 15 persons, of whom 5 are from the Communist Party of that country which will be the residence of the executive committee. Will this be Russia? This question is not being decided at this meeting, and on this question we shall express ourselves when it is brought up for discussion. But in any event it is already clear from these figures that the executive committee will not be the enlarged central committee of any country, but a representation of the Communist Parties of all countries of the world, inasmuch as the remaining 10 members are taken from the delegates of the most important Communist organizations of all countries, one from each."

mand that the credentials of Comrades Trein¹ and Sokritsky be withdrawn. The demand states that Trein and Sokritsky have not submitted to the decision of the two delegations from the United States of the Communist Party of North America and of the Communist Labor Party. This decision called for the formation of a single delegation, which would enter the Congress as a single group.

Comrade Flin says that the union of these revolutionary parties has taken place also in the United States, and that a single Communist Labor Party has been formed. Thus Comrades Trein and Sokritsky have violated the decisions not only of the two delegations, but of both parties.

Comrade Radek states that the credentials committee has not been given the journal of the formal decision to unite, and does not know, therefore, the platform on which the union took place, the union with which Comrades Trein and Sokritsky are not in agreement. In view of this fact the credentials committee, noting the fact of inadequate material on this question, does not find it possible to propose to the Congress to deprive Comrades Trein and Sokritsky of their credentials. The proposal of the credentials committee is voted on and confirmed.

Organization of Soviets.

Comrade Zinoviev is given the floor, to report on the organization of Soviets.

The fundamental principles of the Communist Party on the question of Soviets raised no doubts or disagreements in our midst. From private conversations with comrades, and from the exchange of opinions in the committee, Comrade Zinoviev has come to the conclusion that all are unanimous in recognizing the need of Soviets. Further the Soviet idea has become so popular among the working masses and among toilers, that Comrade Zinoviev considers it superfluous to spend any time on this matter. The question simply is, when and why should Soviets be organized?

In analyzing the attitude toward the Soviet idea, Comrade Zinoviev notes that in Italy for example Soviets have already been organized, but that there the attitude toward them is not exactly what it should be. Comrade Zinoviev warns against a trifling attitude toward the Soviet idea. He says that this idea must be popularized always and everywhere, but that until all the premises for the organization of Soviets are realized, until the masses see clearly the need of Soviets and are organized to support them, and until the broad masses of toilers understand clearly the aim and significance of the Soviets—until then the Soviet idea should not be compromised.

“However, it does not follow that we should wait until the learned ones have worked out an ideal system of Soviet power. The Russian Communist Party in opposition to the German, strove to realize Soviets before the exact and scientific system for the Soviet authority

¹ NOTE.—The Petrograd reports were received by telephone, as indicated on several occasions. The names here may have been misunderstood in transmission. Therefore, “Trein” probably is “Fraina,” “Sokritsky,” “Stoklitsky,” and “Flin” “Bilan.”

had been worked out, but nevertheless it must be noted that we have had the Soviets, that they represent a kind of system, while our German comrades to date have only a system.

"It is not of course a question of the best system for Soviet authority, but a question of strict observance of the main principles, and of organization. From this point of view it is very important that Soviets should strive from the very first days of their existence to be organizations of a governmental character. It is on this point that we differ radically from Mensheviks, and the Independents headed by Kautsky. These constantly insist that Soviets should be a class organization, and that they should not assume governmental functions."

Comrade Zinoviev insists most definitely that Soviets represent the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the victorious proletariat must of course first of all strive to retain in its hands the apparatus of governmental compulsion and unity. Soviets must be organized exclusively for the purpose of opposing a governmental apparatus of power of the proletariat that is striving for dictatorship, to the governmental power of the bourgeoisie. Soviets should function exclusively in this field, the field of constant and concentrated struggle against the bourgeois States and for governmental power.

"From the above it may be concluded that Soviets should not be demanded of anyone, and that they can be organized only when all the premises for the organization of Soviets are at hand. It goes without saying that then Soviets will occupy themselves with the work which history has assigned to them as their particular task."

When Comrade Zinoviev concludes his report it appears that none of the delegates wish to oppose him in this question. His theses are put to a vote without debate and are adopted unanimously. None abstain from voting.¹

Trade-Unions and Factory Committees.

The floor is given to Comrade Radek to report on the work of the committee appointed to discuss the theses on trade-unions and factory committees. Comrade Radek outlined the differences of

¹ The Moscow Izvestia of August 7, 1920, gives the following additional item relating to this same sitting: "After the speech of Comrade Zinoviev, and the statement made by Comrade Fraina, the theses are put to a vote, and are adopted by a majority, against a minority of 8."

"Then Comrade Zinoviev reads the amendment proposed by Comrade Radek on the need of supporting in every possible way the Red International of Trade-Unions that was organized in June. Inasmuch as some comrades oppose this, considering that the organization of this International is artificial, Comrade Zinoviev explains that the Red International contains all the Russian trade-unions, with about 5,000,000 members, the Italian (about 2,000,000), French, German, and Bulgarian, and certain others, making a total of about ten millions. Thus this is not a mere handful and an artificial formation. It is the one weapon of the world revolutionary movement against the yellow International, because the principal enemy of the revolutionary proletariat is not Brussels but Amsterdam—that is the yellow International of trade-union organizations. By overthrowing Amsterdam we shall deal the most terrible blow to the capitalistic order, but this blow can be dealt only by the Red International of trade-unions. By an overwhelming majority the amendment proposed by Comrade Radek is adopted by the Congress."

opinion between the majority of the committee and the American comrades, and quotes from some official organ of the United Communist Party of America on the question of the attitude of the party conference toward the Federation of Labor. "Thus," says Comrade Radek, "the differences of opinion are not accidental but are the reflection of the view of the party they represent, which party definitely stands for the policy of leaving the Federation of Labor and organizing new councils. We, therefore, should not only establish the definite position of the Communist International with respect to trade-unions, but also we should emphasize a specific supplementary amendment, that the revolutionary proletariat considers the position of our American comrades absolutely incorrect.

"The position of Comrade Bombacci is even more incorrect. He is personally an active worker in the trade-union movement and, nevertheless, does not believe at all in the possibility of the revolutionary work of trade-unions, and even proposes not to form new trade-unions. We should declare once for all that we are always with the working masses, and we should end once for all a tendency toward sectarianism, toward the organization of sects."

With respect to industrial councils Comrade Radek believes it is necessary to follow different tactics: "We should break away separate groups of workmen who are represented in the trade-unions from Legien, from Socialists-Traitors, without opposing in itself the form of trade-unions, striving to make more frequent their militant action and protests against trade-union bureaucracy, striving to increase in them the revolutionary spirit." Radek then draws a parallel between the views of trade-unions and of the Communist Party on the possibility of realizing Socialism: "If we take the position of the trade-unionists and propose that Socialism should be realized by a free agreement among trade-unions, then we shall be in a position where individual trade-unions, more numerous and better organized or simply performing functions more important for society, will inevitably secure a privileged position. To prevent this possibility there should be recourse to the assistance of an organization which in its functions will correspond primarily to our Russian Supreme Soviet of National Economy."

In concluding his report Comrade Radek makes a strong plea to the Congress for unanimity.

Then speak Comrades Reed and Gallagher, who repeat the arguments which we already know from former sittings, in favor of a schism in the trade-unions. On other points the same American comrades who spoke in the committee again speak.

Comrade Zinoviev answers them, saying that the road indicated by the former speakers might lead to the collapse of the International and of the Communist movement, and not to the collapse of the compromise Socialists: "Only by creating small groups in the trade-unions of all countries shall we be able to overthrow the Amsterdam yellow union of trade-unions and deal a mortal blow to the capitalist order. But only the Red International of trade-unions, organized in Moscow in July, is able to deal this blow."

The report of Comrade Radek is accepted by the Congress by an overwhelming majority.

EVENING SITTING OF AUGUST 6.

[Given only in summarized form in the Pravda. The fuller report given in the Izvestia of Aug. 8, 1920, is therefore used.]

DEBATES ON BRITISH LABOR PARTY.

Comrade Rosmer speaks as reporter on the question of the tasks of the Communist International, and relates in detail the course of the work in the committee. He states that the question of the fusion of the British Socialist Party with the Independent Labor Party was decided favorably by a majority of 4 to 1. An amendment was introduced to the theses on the admission of new parties to the Communist International to the effect that before the date of the present Congress two-thirds of each such party should have been Communists.

An amendment was also introduced to Article 5; the content of this amendment is that Communist Parties are warned against artificially forcing the revolution when there are not at hand objective premises of revolution. In this event it is necessary to prepare the proletariat by means of the system of a series of revolutionary acts, which create, as a general result, a revolutionary juncture. The question of the Italian Socialist Party was decided in the sense that the latter is to call a Congress, and at this Congress, discuss all the decisions of the III International. If individual members of the party do not accept these theses, by this very fact they are automatically excluded from the party.

Then Sylvia Pankhurst is given the floor in the order of speakers signed. She draws a parallel between England and other countries, and notes the fact that in England it is also very difficult to draw a line of demarkation between the ideology of various social and political groupings. Frequently it happens that for this same reason it is difficult to determine the political physiognomy even of a particular individual. Thus, for example, many consider Williams practically a Communist and in any event a champion of the Soviet authority; but in actual fact we have recently learned that he is giving assistance to the sending of military equipment to Poland.

Then Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst dwells on the relations which have developed within the Labor Party. The political acts of individual representatives of the Labor Party are controlled by its central body in the strictest manner. If we enter the Labor Party we shall therefore come under a political control which is most undesirable for us, a control further complicated by the old democratic and parliamentary traditions of this party. In deciding the problems of the English revolution Russian experience can not be taken as the point of departure, because the conditions are quite different. If the Communist International shall decide the question in the positive, then the British Socialist Party will of course enter the Labor Party. But the Congress should know that by such a decision it will be turning over the fate of the revolution in England into the hands of the Labor Party.

Comrade MacLean gives many facts which refute the point of view of Sylvia Pankhurst. He considers that the Labor Party is simply the political expression of the state of mind of the English workmen organized in trade-unions, and that work must be continued

within the Independent Labor Party. In his opinion it is fully possible to accomplish this work, inasmuch as the rights of political agitation and of freedom of speech do not to date come under any limitations within the Labor Party.

Comrade Gallagher says that this question has been discussed in England for 20 years. It is proposed here that it is necessary to enter the Independent Labor Party in order to maintain contact with the working masses: "But in Scotland, for example, we work under most difficult conditions outside the Labor Party, and yet much has been done for the revolution." Comrade Gallagher recalls the former trips of Lloyd George with his clique, police, and his Socialist patriotic agitation, etc.: "Nevertheless the workmen of Glasgow remained loyal to proletarian ideology and proletarian interests." Comrade Gallagher asks that the English Communists should not be hurried or forced to enter the Labor Party. All their activity to date arouses in them aversion to such a step. He asks that this fact be taken into careful consideration.

Then Comrade Lenin speaks. He says that the fact that this question has been discussed for 20 years in labor circles of England, shows its importance and vital character. Despite the opinion of Comrade MacLean the Labor Party does not express the political state of mind of the working class of England as organized in trade-unions; it expresses the views and state of mind of its leaders, who are the most bourgeois, reactionary handmaid of British imperialism. It is necessary that the party should effectively represent the ideology and interests of the proletariat. Of course, the British Labor Party contains elements that are not of a sufficient high quality in the Communistic sense, but although Comrade Gallagher is right in this respect, he nevertheless does not notice or, more correctly, does not call attention to the fact that in the party, and outside it, there is a considerable number of workmen-revolutionists, who, till now, constantly struggled against the opportunism, and Socialist-treacherous tactics of the handmaids of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, these traitors are at the head of the Labor Party, which presents an unprecedented situation, for the latter expresses the political will of 4,000,000 workmen organized in its ranks.

"You say that you may be excluded from the party if you conduct yourselves like Communists; but I think on the other hand that if you conduct yourselves like Communists, then you will be able to exclude them from the party. The British bourgeoisie is a most intelligent one, and instead of organizing, as you wish to do, small parties that have no influence or significance, it is seizing authority over 4,000,000 politically organized workmen, putting at their head its own commissioned agents. In your press and agitation, at your meetings and gatherings, you should definitely set forth the physiognomy of Henderson and other Socialist traitors. In the conditions which are put down in black and white in our theses, you see that it is precisely for this purpose, and only in the event of the possibility of realizing this purpose, that you are entering the Independent Labor Party. It is impossible also to work outside of parties. If Comrade Gallagher and others would work in an organized manner, would enter a Communist Party, then it is scarcely possible that we would have such a situation as we note in Ireland, where 200,000 English workmen and peasants, armed and equipped as soldiers, carry out a

most criminal national oppression, and the violence of capitalists, with respect to the Irish people. You are constantly speaking of the differences between the conditions in England and those in other countries. In so far as you enter the Communist International, you must remember that you must be guided not only by the experience of England but also by general revolutionary experience."

After the speech of Comrade Lenin the theses are put to a vote. Comrade Zinoviev proposed to vote first, and separately, on the thesis relating to the entrance of the British Socialist Party into the Independent Labor Party of England. This thesis is adopted by a majority of 48 to 24 with two abstaining. Then the theses are adopted in their entirety by a majority of 63 to 2, with one abstaining. The sitting is concluded by the singing of the International and the Carmanola, accompanied by thundering applause; for a long time resounded the shouts: "Long live proletarian Russia," "Long live the leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Lenin," "Long live the world revolution."

SOLEMN CLOSING OF 2ND CONGRESS OF III INTERNATIONAL.

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 8, 1920.]

Yesterday in the opera house was held the solemn concluding sitting of the 2nd Congress of the III Communist International. The opera house was full to overflowing. On the stage sat the delegates of the 2nd Congress and members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Moscow Soviet. The orchestra and balconies were crowded with representatives of the Moscow workmen.

Comrade Kalinin opens the sitting. He points out that in this 2nd Congress we see how a certain portion of the revolutionary task, a certain burden, is being transferred from the shoulders of the Russian proletariat to those of the international toiling classes.

Then speaks the representative of English workmen, Comrade Gallagher, who declares that at the present moment, just as the delegates of the 2nd Congress are about to disperse, he has received word *that the English Government is preparing a new attack on Soviet Russia*. On returning to England, says Comrade Gallagher, he and his comrades will think only of one thing—how to make the working class of England understand and how to persuade it to adhere to the Russian proletariat for common struggle to victory over world imperialism.

The representative of the Finnish workmen, Comrade Maner, says that if the Finnish bourgeoisie dares to carry out the orders of the Entente and attack Petrograd, then it will receive a blow in the back from the revolutionary proletariat of Finland. The representative of the German proletariat, who next speaks, Comrade Levi, is greeted by a loud ovation from the entire gathering. Comrade Levi says that at this decisive moment, when the Entente tries to send its troops across Germany into White Poland, the German proletariat knows that the time has arrived to come forward in defense of the world revolution. "*When the Red Army approaches the frontier of Germany,*" concludes Comrade Levi, "*it will hear from the other*

side of the frontier a shout of welcome from the German proletariat: 'Long live Soviet Russia!'"

Comrade Radek speaks in the name of the Polish workmen. He expresses the deep conviction that the Polish proletariat, which has always marched in the first ranks of the Russian revolution, will show in deeds how it will handle its own bourgeoisie and the officers of the Entente. The Russian Red Army will meet iron detachments of Polish workmen, who, together with the former, will march to the final triumph over imperialism.

Comrade Trotsky makes a long and brilliant speech. He says that the 2nd Congress of the Communist International met one and one-half years after the 1st Congress. These 18 months were rich in profound historic content. "Now we have come out on the road that leads to world communism. We must look back, in order to determine the road traveled, and without taking our eyes off our enemy note the landmarks, and without losing time go forward." Comrade Trotsky then gives a brilliant characterization of the collapse of bourgeois Europe and of the League of Nations. "Between England and America," he says, "an unprecedented duel is being fought for the rule of the seas. France is bankrupt and begs for economic gifts from England. Europe, ruined and exhausted by the war, has become even more poverty-stricken and desperate during the last 18 months. They tell us, from all the parliamentary tribunes, of the economic reconstruction of Europe. *But is it possible to reconstruct Europe without Russian raw materials and Russian grain? Is it possible to reestablish Europe without German technical equipment and the German working classes?* No; it is impossible. And so the representatives of the workmen of these countries on returning home will say: 'On the basis of what we have seen we can testify before the world proletariat that if the imperialists leave Soviet Russia in peace, if the workmen will give technical assistance even in small proportions, then *in three years, or at the maximum of five years, Soviet Russia will give to the European working class five times more bread and raw materials than gave the old Tsarist-bourgeois Russia.*'"

Comrade Zinoviev makes a concluding speech and summarizes the work of the 2nd Congress of the III International, pointing out the increasing strength and influence of the Communist International among workmen throughout the world.

The Congress is closed with the powerful singing of the International. The Italian delegates, supported by all present, sing Italian revolutionary songs. The concluding solemn sitting of the 2nd Congress left a deep impression on the foreign delegates and the Moscow workmen.

ZINOVIEV'S SPEECH AT CONCLUDING SITTING.

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 10, 1920.]

Comrade Zinoviev, president of the III International, makes a beautiful and brilliant speech; he was greeted by long and fervent applause:

"During the entire time that this Congress has been in session we have seen the actual fraternal alliance of the whole world proletariat.

Only a few months ago the idea of convening in Moscow a World Congress seemed to many audacious, but the yearning of the workmen of the whole world to join us was more powerful than all difficulties and obstacles which the world bourgeoisie put in the way of our Congress.

“With complete satisfaction we can say that the Congress has been an entire success. After the World War and the collapse of the II International the workmen were waiting to be united, and this passionate desire for unification was the driving force of the workmen’s International and of world history, despite the fact that the blockade of Russia has not been raised and that in many countries our parties exist illegally. We have at the Congress representatives not only of European and American countries but also of the Orient and of colonies. We are convinced that the movement in the Orient will grow and will merge with the Communist movement of the proletariat. At the Congress were represented many phases of the labor movement. Since the collapse of the II International the proletariat in many countries is still at the crossroads. The Congress has united all that is alive and healthy in the labor movements. We welcomed organizations that had not yet fully assumed a definite form. We have in our ranks the pick of the syndicalists and anarchists, representatives of English factory committees, of the American ‘Industrial Workers of the World,’ etc. Many of these organizations do not yet share fully our program, but we considered it necessary to open the doors of the III International to all revolutionary detachments of the world proletariat that are ready to go with us, with arms in the hands, to carry on a common struggle.

“At our Congress were also represented groups of penitent ‘compromisers.’ They came humbly before the judgment seat of the III International and petitioned for amnesty. The sense of their speeches was: ‘I am guilty, but I deserve indulgence.’

“Our Congress put forth 21 conditions for admission to the Communist International, so that not a single opportunist should be able to slip in. Only a year ago many feared lest we remain a small group; now another danger threatens us—the III International has become the fashion and many, fearing to fall behind the majority, strive to come to us.

“The resolution on colonial and national questions was adopted unanimously, and this represents a moral victory for us. The III International continues the glorious traditions of the I International, uniting in its ranks the toilers not only of ‘white,’ but also of ‘black’ and ‘yellow’ color. At the congress was organized the International of Trade Unions, and thus was destroyed the last bulwark of the bourgeoisie—the yellow Amsterdam International. We had to have many debates and discussions with our English and American comrades. On the basis of the experience of the Russian revolution we told them that they must go to the masses instead of withdrawing from mass organization. We said that in each country there must be only one Communist Party. Whoever knows what authority the III International enjoys among the revolutionary proletariat, will understand that this wish of the Congress will be realized.”

Comrade Zinoviev further draws a comparison between the bourgeois International and the proletarian International, and says

that while in the former a constant conflict is going on, in which the brigands of world imperialism are knifing each other, in the III International despite all the differences in social conditions under which the proletariat and bourgeoisie live and in spite of the varied character of the political structure of countries represented at the Congress, the III International demonstrated complete solidarity on all questions.

"The Soviet idea has won the entire working class so completely that the resolution on Soviets did not call forth any discussions at the Congress, and was adopted unanimously. We outlined our path for long months of struggle, we strengthened our international alliance by adopting by-laws and constitution which will create a strong, disciplined, and militant International. The whole course of civil war has forced us, with inexorable logic to create a party with iron discipline. This experience was used by the Congress to create a similar international fighting apparatus."

In conclusion, comrade Zinoviev states that many comrades on their return from the Congress will have to face trying difficulties: "But they can be sure that we at any moment will render them all the assistance that is at our disposal."

FIRST SITTING OF NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 11, 1920.]

On August 7 took place the first sitting of the new executive committee elected by the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International.

The membership of the committee is the following:

| Country. | Delegate. | Proxy. |
|------------------|------------------|---|
| Germany..... | Levi..... | Mayer. |
| France..... | Rosmer..... | All parties and groups, including shop stewards, except group of Pankhurst. |
| England..... | Welch..... | |
| America..... | John Reed..... | |
| Italy..... | Serrati..... | Norway, Sweden, Denmark; later decided to give Sweden a special vote. |
| Austria..... | Steinhard..... | |
| Scandinavia..... | Fried..... | |
| Bulgaria..... | Shablin..... | |
| Jugo-Slavia..... | Milkich..... | Varga. |
| Hungary..... | Rudniansky..... | |
| Near East..... | Sultan-Zade..... | |
| Far East..... | Pak..... | Yanson. |
| Finland..... | Maner..... | |
| Holland..... | Wynkoop..... | |

According to the decision of the Congress, the Russian Communist Party delegated five delegates: Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Tomsky, and Kobetsky, and proxies; Lenin, Trotsky, Berzin, Stalin, Pavlovich, Chicherin.

At the sitting are present also several comrades with consultative voices representing various parties and groups.

Comrade Zinoviev is elected again unanimously as the president of the new executive committee of the Communist International. The directing body (praesidium) of the executive committee of the Communist International is elected, composed of: Zinoviev, Bukharin, Mayer, Rudniansky, and Kobetsky. In view of the departure of Radek for the front, Kobetsky is elected secretary.

In connection with the departure of the delegates to the International Congress of Metal Workers there is a discussion of the question of the directives to be given by the Communist International to these delegates.

A discussion developed on the principles of the question of the task of the Communist International in the field of trade-unions. The executive committee gives the delegates the following directives: On a national scale the schism in right opportunist trade-unions is allowed only as an exception, because here it is a question of a mass organization which must be won from within. On the international scale, on the other hand, one must work for a schism, because the yellow Amsterdam organization, working for union, is the main support of the bourgeoisie, and the leaders of the Amsterdam international union are inveterate manipulators who, having gotten control of the unions, skillfully exploit the trade-union movement. At the International Congress of Metal Workers it is indispensable at any cost to separate at least a portion of the unions from yellow Amsterdam.

ACTIVITIES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Petrograd Pravda, Sept. 15, 1920.]

The new executive committee of the Communist International, organized on August 7, devoted the first month of its activity to two tasks—the cleansing of the Communist movement of various countries of reformist and opportunist elements, and the uniting of all sincerely revolutionary forces of the world proletariat.

The German Independents.

The sitting of August 8 was devoted to the discussion of questions relating to the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, a delegation of which was invited to the sitting.

Comrade Zinoviev put three questions to the Independents: (1) Do they find that any of the questions which interest the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany were not adequately elucidated by the 2nd Congress; (2) do they consider as acceptable the conditions of admission to the Communist International, which were prepared and established by the Congress; (3) what is their attitude toward the demands made by the Congress, that they exclude from the party the right Socialist elements?

On the first question the delegation, which was composed of four members, had only one opinion, which was that all the questions of

interest to the delegates were adequately elucidated by the Congress. On the other two questions opinions differed. Comrades Dauemig and Stoecker declared their complete agreement with the resolutions adopted by the 2nd Congress, and added that they would make every effort to secure, at the next party conference, the adherence of their party to the III International, which has been strengthened, thanks to the 2nd Congress. On the other hand, Comrades Crispien and Dittmann (representatives of the right wing of the party) declared that in theoretical questions of principle they are not in disagreement on important points with the Communist International, and pointed out that difficulties had arisen only in connection with the concrete formulating of the theses, particularly in that section of the latter which refers to armed uprisings, illegal struggle, centralism, and the attitude toward Socialist-traitors like Kautsky and Hilferding.

Crispien and Dittmann also pointed out that an intransigent attitude in these questions might cause a schism in the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Comrades Zinoviev and Radek answered them. Comrade Zinoviev pointed out, for example, that there are situations where a schism is the most sacred duty of a revolutionist, and that the Independent Social-Democratic Party must either cleanse itself or split up. It was in this spirit that the decision was adopted on the preparation of a message to the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

The British Movement.

The sitting of August 10 was devoted to the British movement. In his introductory speech Comrade Zinoviev pointed out that in England there are the British Communist Party, the Communist Party grouped around the newspaper "Workers' Dreadnaught," the Scottish group, the group of Wales and Ireland, factory committees, and such, and that the union of these groups represents a difficult task, because, as was revealed at the Congress, there are disagreements among them, as, for example, on the question of the attitude toward the Labor Party. "But these are purely tactical questions," says Comrade Zinoviev, "and much more important questions unite us, namely, the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the Soviet system, of the need of illegal work, etc."

In conclusion, after an exchange of opinion, the following decision was unanimously adopted (the English workmen, who voted separately, all voted for the resolution):

"The Executive Committee resolves: In England there must be created a single Communist party on the basis of the decisions of the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International. In order to solve this task there must be convened during the next four months a general congress of Communist groups and organizations of all England and Ireland. The following must take part in this Congress: (1) The United Communist Party, (2) the Communist Party, (3) Shop-Stewards (delegates from factories and mills), (4) the Scottish Communist Party, (5) the Group of Wales, (6) Irish Communists (on federative principles), (7) the Socialist Labor Party, and (8) the Left Wing of the Independent Labor Party. A general Committee of Action is to be formed to convene this Congress and to

prepare for its unity in matter of ideas; one representative from each group will compose this committee, under the presidency of a representative of the Executive Committee."

Supplementing this resolution the Executive Committee on August 20 further resolved: With respect to the Shop-Steward movement, the Executive Committee recommends to the Committee of Action to organize the representation of such at the Congress on a proportional basis, according to the number of organized members; further, it is desirable that among such delegates there should be not only leaders of the movement who belong to parties, but also genuine representatives of the views and wishes of the labor masses.

The Cleansing of the Italian Party.

At the sitting of August 11 the Executive Committee discussed the cleansing of the Italian Party of opportunists and Socialist-Traitors, like Turati, Modigliani, Daragona, and others. Italian comrades, including Comrade Serrati, without objecting on principle, hesitated only on the question of carrying out this decision. The Executive Committee adopted an appeal to Italian workmen on this subject.

The sitting of August 25 was also devoted to the Italian movement. There was present a delegate from the Italian Union of Syndicalists, Comrade Borgi, who arrived in Moscow after the Congress. Because of this last fact the Executive Committee adopted unanimously the following resolution: "On the basis of the decision of the 2nd Congress on the question of the attitude toward the revolutionary section of Syndicalists, Anarchists, Shop-Steward adherents, and Industrial Workers of the World, and in view of the declaration of the representative of the 'Italian Syndicalist Union' Comrade Borgi that he accepts the decisions of the 2nd Congress, the Executive Committee resolves: (1) to admit the 'Italian Syndicalist Union' into the III International; (2) to instruct the 'Small Bureau' to explain in a special letter to the 'Italian Syndicalist Union,' to all its members, the obligations which result from adherence to the III International; and (3) to instruct the 'Small Bureau' to adopt all necessary measures for the purpose of uniting as quickly as possible all genuinely Communist forces in Italy."

Further, on the proposal of Comrade Reed, it was resolved to demand of the Italian Confederation of Labor that it convene a congress immediately following the congress of the party.

The American Communist Movement.

With reference to the American Communist movement, the Executive Committee took a whole series of decisions, which demand of American and English comrades that they adopt a policy of compact and united organization. The following resolution was, therefore, adopted: Both Communist parties—the United Communist Party and the Communist Party—are instructed to unite in a single party on the basis of the decision of the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International. This unification must be definitely completed within two months, that is by October 10, 1920. Those that

do not submit to this decision will be excluded from the III Communist International.

The Central Organ.

A series of decisions was adopted on the question of the central organ, according to which the journal "Communist International" will be so adapted as to satisfy the needs of the Communist movement in all countries. On the proposal of Comrade Zinoviev, the various shades of the Communist movement will be given the possibility of discussing disputed questions in the pages of this journal.

APPENDIXES.

1. MESSAGE OF CONGRESS TO THE WORKMEN OF PETROGRAD.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 21, 1920.]

"Brothers, the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International, in opening its session in Red Petrograd, sends its warm greetings to you, Petrograd workmen and workwomen, Red Army soldiers, sailors, and all toilers.

"We, the delegates of labor organizations of the whole world, considered it our duty to open the first sitting of the Congress in your Petrograd, in order thus to pay the tribute of respect and affection to the proletariat of Red Petrograd, which was the first to rise up against the bourgeoisie, and with heroic concentration of strength and will-power overturned the authority of capital in one of the most important forts of the bourgeois world."

"The proletarians of all countries know how much you proletarians of Petrograd have suffered during the last three years, how you have famished, how many of your best sons have perished at the front defending the great cause of Communism. The workmen of the whole world love you, particularly because you did not hesitate for a minute at the time of the great crisis that threatened Petrograd and the entire Soviet Republic, but defended the blood-soaked Red Flag with the courage of lions, with tireless daring, and with the steadfastness of the Petrograd proletariat.

"The Communist International says to you: The Petrograd Commune carries on in a worthy manner the cause of the Paris Commune, avoiding the weaknesses and mistakes of the latter and leading the proletarian battalions to victory."

"The Communist International is convinced that the workmen of Red Petrograd will continue to represent the best detachment of the world army of labor.

"Long live the glorious Petrograd proletariat!"

"Long live the Communist International!"

2. MESSAGE OF CONGRESS TO THE RED ARMY.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 21, 1920.]

Brothers, the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International sends hearty fraternal greetings to the entire Red Army, to the entire Red Fleet, and to each Red division, from the smallest to the largest.

To you, Red Army soldiers and Red sailors, to all of you and to each of you, and particularly to the comrades at the front:

The toilers of the entire world with bated breath fondly follow your struggle against capitalists and landlords, Tsarist generals, and imperialists. The workmen of the whole world share your defeats and celebrate your victories. The toiling population of the whole world enthusiastically notes with what great effort you have striven to overcome Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, and Miller, breaking up the intrigues of French and English capitalists."

The 2nd World Congress of the III International heartily greets you, and the Red Army which at the present moment fights on the western and southwestern fronts against the white Polish nobles, whom the bourgeoisie of the Entente has sent in order to suppress the Russian Soviet Republic of workmen and peasants.

Brothers, Red Army Soldiers! Know that your war against the Polish nobles is the most just war that history has ever known. You are fighting not only for the interests of Soviet Russia, but for the interests of all toiling humanity, for the Communist International. The toiling masses can not destroy the yoke of the rich, and wage slavery, except by war with arms in hand."

You were the first to turn your arms against the oppressors. You were the first to create a strong and powerful workmen's-peasants' Red Army. You were the first to point out the road to the oppressed and exploited of the whole world.

Because of this the proletarians of all countries bless you. The Communist International knows that your victories over the enemies of workmen and peasants have been bought at the price of innumerable sacrifices and deprivations.

We know that you will not allow yourselves to be defeated. We know how many of the best sons of the Red Army have given their lives for our cause. Your heroism will never be forgotten in history. Know, comrades, that the Red Army is now one of the principal forces of world history!

Know that you are no longer alone. The toilers of the whole world are on your side. The time is near when there will be created the International Red Army.

Long live the great, invincible Red Army!

Long live the army of the Communist International!

3. "TO THE PROLETARIANS (MEN AND WOMEN) OF ALL COUNTRIES."

[Petrograd Pravda, July 21, 1920.]

The 2nd World Congress of the Communist International convenes at a moment when White-Guardist Poland, the stronghold of the capitalist world reaction, is falling before the powerful blows of the Red Army of Russian workmen and peasants. What all revolutionary workmen and workwomen of the whole world fervently desire has now been accomplished.

Russian workmen and peasants have gone against the impudent Polish White-Guards just as they rose to suppress the Russian counter-revolution and the troops of Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich. The Polish capitalists and landlords have rejected the honorable peace proposals of Soviet Russia, in the hope of receiving assistance from world capital and in the belief that Soviet Russia had exhausted all her strength in the struggle against counter-revolution. They threw their troops into Soviet Russia and are now on the eve of a great military defeat.

Their troops have fallen back from the Ukraine and White Russia, and the troops of Soviet Russia are pursuing them. The brigands of world capital, the Polish landlords and capitalists, now wail that Poland is in great danger.

They are appealing to the governments of capitalist countries with requests for immediate assistance, so that European culture should not be destroyed by the barbarians of the Russian revolution. And we see how the English Government, which armed the Poles for their criminal attack on Soviet Russia, which together with its allies refused to leave Poland when Soviet Russia proposed on April 3 to begin negotiations in London—we see how that same capitalist England impudently threatens a new general attack by all the allies in case Soviet Russia does not conclude an armistice with the Poles, who have advanced into Russia.

The directors of world capital, who are playing with the destinies of peoples as though they were cats, now come forward as the defenders of the independence of Poland. The French Government, which in 1917 was ready to abandon Poland to the Tsarist government of Russia if the latter would recognize the French pretensions with respect to the left bank of the Rhine, the English Government which frequently during the war declared confidentially through its agents to the German Government that it would turn over Poland to the Central Powers if German Imperialism would evacuate Belgium, where it would be a danger to England—all these traders in human flesh now shout that Soviet Russia threatens the independence of Poland, and under this slogan are attempting to prepare the public opinion of the whole world for a new attack on Russian workmen and peasants.

Workmen and workwomen of all countries! There is no need for us to explain to you that Soviet Russia does not entertain the slightest plan of conquest with respect to the Polish people. Soviet Russia worked for the independence of Poland at Brest-Litovsk in the face of the executioners of the Polish people, of Hoffman and Beseler. Soviet Russia was ready to conclude peace even with Polish capitalists, and in order to attain peace not only recognized the independence of Poland but ceded to Poland extensive border regions. Soviet Russia is closely bound to the Polish working masses by decades of common

struggle. For Soviet Russia self-determination of the Polish people is a sacred and inviolate right, and if not a single soldier defended Poland, the Polish land would nevertheless remain the property of the Polish people, and the Polish people itself would determine freely its own fate.

But so long as there rules in Poland a band of capitalist adventurers and landlords who have drawn the country into a criminal military adventure; so long as the capitalists of the Entente supply Poland with arms, Soviet Russia is in a state of defensive war. Should Soviet Russia to-day give the Polish White-Guardists a respite and allow them to reestablish their shattered troops and again arm them with the assistance of the Entente, to-morrow Soviet Russia would be obliged once more to tear hundreds of thousands of her best sons from the plow and workmen's bench and send them to the front for a new defensive war.

Workmen and workwomen! If the capitalist filth of the whole world cries out about the attack on the independence of Poland, in order to prepare a new attack against Russia, you should know the following and it alone: Your employers tremble, fearing that one of the pillars of their rule, of their world system of reaction, exploitation, and oppression is falling; they fear that if white-guardist Poland falls before the blows of the Red Army, and the Polish workmen take over power into their own hands, that then it will be easier for the German, Austrian, Italian, and French workmen to free themselves from their exploiters, and that the workmen of England and America also will follow them. If the capitalist filth wails that danger threatens the independence of Poland, it is because they fear that your slavery, your involuntary servitude, workmen and workwomen, may be replaced by liberation from the chains of capitalist slavery. Therefore, it is the duty of the proletarians of all countries by every means to prevent the Governments of England, France, America, and Italy from rendering any aid whatsoever to the Polish White-Guards. Proletarians of the countries of the Entente! Your governments will continue to try to deceive you; they will insist, as heretofore, that they are not rendering support to Poland. It is your duty to stand guard at all ports and all frontiers, and see to it that not a single train or ship with food supplies or arms should leave for Poland. Take up your positions as guards! Do not allow yourselves to be deceived by false indications as to the places from which transports are being sent; such transports, you know, can be sent to Poland by roundabout routes. And when governments and private capital do not give way to your protests, organize strikes, act by force, and under no conditions help the Polish landlords and capitalists to murder your Russian brothers.

Proletarians of Germany! When white-guardist Poland falls, then the capitalists of the countries of the Entente will be willing to conclude peace with German generals and with German capitalists; they will help the latter to equip large armies of hired troops, and these troops will suppress the German proletariat in order to convert Germany into a base of operations against Soviet Russia. The capitalists of the countries of the Entente will not hesitate to convert Germany into a heap of ruins, to become the advance post for the struggle against Soviet Russia and Soviet Poland. German workmen and workwomen! The hour has come when you can accomplish what you promised thousands of times during great manifestations, namely, to come over to the side of your Russian brothers, and together with them fight for your freedom. Do not allow on German soil any attempts to render assistance to white-guardist Poland, and do not allow any new recruitment of hired soldiers. Watch carefully all the trains going eastward, and keep a strict watch over what takes place in Danzig, doing everything that is required by the circumstances. Not a single freight car and not a single ship should go from Germany to Poland.

Proletarians of all other countries! Remember that the enemy now is white-guardist Poland. The task of the present hour is to crush this enemy. Proletarians of all countries! Remember that you must not give in to the deceitful speeches of treacherous or hesitating leaders of the workmen and to false promises of government. Now you must act, and you must gather all forces in order to blockade Poland. You must concentrate all forces in order to show in fact the solidarity of the world proletariat with Soviet Russia.

Workmen and workwomen! Your solidarity with Soviet Russia at the same time is solidarity with the Polish proletarians. The Polish proletariat, under the direction of the Communist Party, is struggling steadfastly against the war with Soviet Russia. The Polish prisons are filled with our Polish brothers, the

Communists of Poland. The defeats of the Polish White-Guardists arouse the greatest enthusiasm in the hearts of Polish workmen. A wave of strikes is rising in Poland. Polish workmen are striving to take advantage of the defeats of their exploiters, in order to deal the last blow to their weakened class enemy and in order to unite with Russian workmen in a common struggle for freedom.

The blockade of Poland will represent direct aid to the struggle for liberation of the Polish workmen; it is the road that will free Poland from the chains imposed on it by the victorious capitalists of London and Paris, the road to an independent republic of Polish workmen and peasants.

The 2nd World Congress of the Communist International sends you this appeal: Come out onto the streets and show your governments that you will not allow any assistance to white-guardist Poland or any intervention against Soviet Russia. Stop all work and movement if you see that the capitalist clique of all countries despite your protest is preparing a new attack on Soviet Russia. Do not let a single train or boat pass through to Poland. Show that the solidarity of the proletariat exists in actual fact and not simply in words.

Long live Soviet Russia! Long live the Red Army of Russian workmen and peasants! Down with white-guardist Poland! Down with intervention! Long live Soviet Poland!

SECTION II

THE
BOLSHEVIST INTERPRETATION
OF
THE 2ND CONGRESS
OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
PETROGRAD-MOSCOW
JULY 19-AUGUST 7, 1920

I.

OFFICIAL CALL FOR THE CONGRESS.

1. The Call for the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International.

[Izvestia, June 3, 1920.]

To all Communist parties and groups, all trade-unions, all organizations of Communist women, all unions of the Communist youth, all workmen's organizations based on the principles of Communism, to all sincere and honest toilers:

Comrades: The executive committee of the Communist International has voted to convoke the 2nd Congress of the Communist International in Moscow on July 15, 1920, and has worked out the following draft of a program for the 2nd Congress:

1. Report of the executive committee of the Communist International.
2. Reports of the representatives of different countries. (The reports must be written.)
3. The present international situation and the task of the Communist International.
4. The question of parliamentarism.
5. The trade-unions and the factory committees.
6. The rôle and structure of the Communist Party before and after the conquest of power by the proletariat.
7. The question of nationalities and colonies.
8. The agrarian question.
9. The attitude toward the new tendencies in the Center, which accept the Communist platform only in words; the conditions of admission to the III International.
10. The by-laws and constitution of the Communist International.
11. Organization problems (legal and illegal organizations, women's organizations).
12. Movement among the youth.
13. Elections.
14. General questions.

All Communist parties and groups and trade-unions, which have officially joined the Communist International, and which have been recognized by its executive committee are invited to participate with the right to vote, at the Congress. Those groups and organizations that are based on the same principles as the Communist International, but stand in opposition to the official, affiliated Communist parties, are also invited to the Congress, which will then decide what voice these groups should have; there are also invited to the Congress the groups of revolutionary syndicalists, the unions of industrial workmen of the world, and other organizations, with which the executive committee of the Communist International plans to es-

tablish closer relations; the unions of youth must be represented not only by the central committee of the Youths' International, but also by the Communist organizations of every country.

In connection with the Congress, it is intended to convoke an international conference of the Communist Union of Youth; should it prove at all possible to organize the first international conference of the Red Trade-Unions in connection with the Congress, then all parties and organizations are invited to send as many delegates as possible to the Congress. The question of the number of votes enjoyed by delegates to the Congress will, of course, be decided quite independently of the number of delegates. The executive committee of the Communist International urgently insists that all Communist parties that send delegates to the Congress, should appoint one of the delegates as a permanent representative of the respective party on the executive committee of the Communist International, so as to enable this comrade to remain for a prolonged period in Russia. You will see from the program that the Congress will examine the most important problems which confront workmen Communists of the whole world. The rapid development of the ideas of Communism all over the world forces us to hasten the calling of the Congress, which will have to give a definite and clear answer to the proletarians of all countries on those questions which have arisen and demand immediate attention.

The first Congress of the Communist International raised the flag of Communism. To-day millions and millions of conscious workmen all over the world are united under this flag. The work now is no longer one of propaganda of the ideas of Communism. Now is the time for the "organization" of the Communist proletariat and for the direct struggle for the Communist revolution. The II International collapsed like a house of cards. All attempts on the part of certain Socialistic diplomats to create some new International of mongrel breed, a union between the II and III International, are ridiculous and do not meet with any support on the part of the workmen.

Cut off from each other by military censorships, states of siege, and the campaign of libels of the yellow Social-Democrats and the bourgeois press, the workmen of all countries stretch out to each other a brotherly hand. Existing little more than a year, the Communist International has gained a decisive moral victory among the labor masses of the entire world. Millions and millions of workmen are longing to join us and the sincere international comradeship of the workmen called the III International.

Let these workmen, therefore, force their parties and organizations to make their choice once for all; let them put an end to that unworthy game played by some of their old diplomatic "leaders," who try to keep their parties from joining the Communist International. Let the members of the trade-unions in particular, that officially belong to the white-guardist International organized in Amsterdam by agents of capital, by Legien, Albert Thomas, and others, see to it that their labor organizations break with the traitors to the cause of the workingmen and send their delegates to join the Communist International; let the 2nd Congress of the Communist International become in reality a world Congress of the working class; at the same time let this Congress be a gathering of all adherents and real sup-

porters of a genuine Communist program and of revolutionary Communist tactics; let every labor organization and group discuss the program proposed by the executive committee of the Communist International. Let the workmen bring up their resolutions and views on the various questions; let the Communist press devote itself entirely for the next few weeks to the discussion of the most important problems; let the preliminary work be intense. Only in this way can our Congress summarize the experiences of the conscious proletarians of the whole world and express the real will of the workmen Communists of all countries.

The executive committee of the Communist International sends its fraternal greetings to the conscious proletarians of the whole world, and calls on them to join the brotherly ranks. Long live the International Communist comradeship of workmen! Long live the III International!

With Communist greetings,

G. ZINOVIEV,
*The President of the Executive Committee
of the Communist International.*

K. RADEK,
*Secretary of the Executive Committee
of the Communist International.*

JUNE 2, 1920.

II.

A PLATFORM-RESOLUTION.

2. "Resolution on the Rôle of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution."¹

[Adopted by the Congress unanimously. (Moscow Pravda, July 30, 1920.)]

The world proletariat is on the eve of decisive battles. We are living through an epoch of direct civil wars. But the decisive hour is near. In almost all the countries where there is a considerable

¹ NOTE.—The "theses" or platform-planks on the questions discussed at the Congress were prepared by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. A copy of these theses, published in pamphlet form in French, is in the files of the Department.

In view of the reduced size of the Bolshevik newspaper—one sheet of two printed pages, or 12 columns—these long theses as adopted by the Congress can not be published in an ordinary issue. A special supplement of the Moscow Pravda has published to date of the last issue received only the theses or resolutions given here. The other theses, or platform-planks, were on the following subjects:

- (1) The Syndicalist Movement, Factory Committees, and the III International.
- (2) The Agrarian Question.
- (3) First sketch of the Theses on National and Colonial Questions (N. Lenin).
- (4) The Communist Party and Parliamentarism.
- (5) Supplement to Theses on Parliamentarism.
- (6) When and under what conditions can Soviets of Workmen's Deputies be created? (G. Zinoviev.)
- (7) Conditions of Admission of Parties to the Communist International.
- (8) The Main Tasks of the 2nd Congress of the III International.

labor movement the working class will have before it in the immediate future a series of fierce armed encounters.

Now more than ever does the working class need a solidified organization. The working class must prepare ceaselessly for the coming decisive struggle without losing a single hour of the precious time that remains.

If at the time of the Paris Commune (1871) the working class had had a united, even if a small, Communist Party, the first heroic uprising of the French proletariat would have been much more powerful and thousands of mistakes and weaknesses would have been avoided.

The struggle which is before the proletariat now that historic conditions have changed will have a much greater influence on the historic fates of the working class than in 1871. In view of all this the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International calls upon the revolutionary workmen of the whole world to turn their attention upon the following:

1. The Communist Party is a part of the working class, precisely its most advanced, most conscious, and therefore most revolutionary part. The Communist Party springs into being through a natural selection of the best, the most conscious, the most self-sacrificing, and far-seeing workmen. The Communist Party has no interests different from the interests of the working class. The Communist Party differs from the whole mass of the working class in that it contemplates the historic path of the working class in its entirety, and strives at every turn of that path to defend the interests, not of the separate groups, not of various trades and professions, but the interests of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is that lever of political organization by means of which the most advanced part of the working class directs the mass of the proletariat and semiproletariat along the right road.

2. As long as the governmental authority has not been conquered by the proletariat, as long as the proletariat has not established its rule once for all and has not guaranteed the working class from the possibility of a bourgeois restoration, so long will the Communist Party by right have in its organized ranks only the minority of the workmen. Up to the time of the seizure of governmental authority and during the period of transition the Communist Party may, in favorable circumstances, exercise undivided ideological and political influence upon all the proletarian and semiproletarian strata of a population, but it can not bring them together in its ranks in an organized manner. Only after the proletarian dictatorship will have deprived the bourgeois of such powerful weapons of effective influence as the press, the school, the parliament, the church, the administrative apparatus, etc., only after the final defeat of the bourgeois social order will have become evident for everybody, only then will all or practically all the workmen begin to enter the ranks of the Communist Party.

3. The idea of a party should be strictly differentiated from the idea of the class. The members of the "Christian" and liberal professional labor unions in Germany, Great Britain, and other countries undoubtedly constitute a part of the working class. The more or less considerable circles in the working class which still follow Scheidemann, Gompers and Company, undoubtedly constitute a part

of the working class. In the presence of definite historic factors there are possible in the working class very numerous reactionary strata. The problem of Communism does not consist in adapting itself to these retrograde parts of the working class, but in raising the whole working class to the level of its communistic vanguard. The mingling of these two conceptions, the idea of the party and the idea of the class, may lead to the greatest of mistakes and confusions. For example, it is clear that in spite of the tendencies or the prejudices of a part of the working masses during the imperialistic war, a Labor Party should without fail have come out against these tendencies or prejudices and in defense of the historic interests of the proletariat, which demanded on the part of a proletarian party a declaration of a war against war.

For example, at the beginning of the imperialistic war of 1914 the Socialist-Traitor Parties of all the countries, supporting the bourgeoisie of "their own" country, invariably asserted that such was the will of the working class. And they forgot entirely that even if this were so the aim of a proletarian party under such circumstances should have been to fight against the moods and tendencies of the majority of the workmen, and to defend the historic interests of the proletariat in spite of everything. So, on the threshold of the twentieth century, the Russian Mensheviks of that time (the so-called "economists") rejected an open political struggle against Tsarism on the ground that, as they alleged, the working class as a whole had not as yet matured sufficiently to understand political struggle.

In the same manner in Germany the Right Independents, whenever they make their halfway steps, allege that they represent the desires of the masses, not realizing that a party exists precisely for the purpose of marching in front of the mass and of showing the mass the road it is to follow.

4. The Communist International is absolutely certain that the bankruptcy of the old Social-Democratic Parties of the II International can not under any circumstances be represented as the bankruptcy of the proletarian party system in general. The epoch of the direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat brings forth a new party of the proletariat, the Communist Party.

5. The Communist International rejects most decidedly the view that the proletariat can accomplish its revolution without having its own independent political party. All class struggle is a political struggle. The object of the struggle, which inevitably becomes transformed into a civil war, is the conquest of the political authority. However, the political authority can not be seized, organized, and directed except through this or that political party. Only when the proletariat has for its leadership an organized and experienced party with strictly defined aims and a concrete, worked-out program of its immediate actions in the domains of both internal and external policy, only in that case will the conquest of political authority be not an accidental episode, but will serve as the starting point for an extended period of communistic construction on the part of the proletariat.

That same class struggle demands that the various forms of the movement of the Proletariat (the professional and trade-unions, co-

operatives, factory committees, the cultural and educational work, the elections, etc.) should be unified in one center and be directed in common. Only a political party can be such a common unifying and directing center. The refusal to create it, strengthen it, and submit to it signifies the refusal to accept the unified direction of the separate fighting detachments of the proletariat operating in the different arenas of the struggle. Finally, the class struggle of the proletariat demands concentrated agitation, which would illumine the various steps of the struggle from a single point of view, and would concentrate the attention of the proletariat at each given moment on the definite problems which are common for the whole class. This can not be accomplished without a centralized political apparatus—that is, without a political party. Therefore the propaganda of the revolutionary Syndicalists, the followers of the Industrial Workers of the World, against the need of an independent labor party has been objectively of assistance, and is still of assistance, only to the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary Social-Democrats. In their propaganda against a Communist Party, for which the Syndicalists and the Industrialists wish to substitute only the trade and professional unions, or some formless “universal labor association,” the Syndicalists and the Industrialists touch hands with the deliberate opportunists; the Russian Mensheviks, after the defeat of the revolution of 1905, preached for a number of years a so-called labor congress which was to have taken the place of a revolutionary party of the working class; all kinds of “yellow laborites” in Great Britain and in America, who in reality follow a deliberate bourgeois policy, preached to the workmen a creation of formless labor associations, or of indefinite exclusively parliamentary formations, instead of a truly proletarian political party. The revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrialists desire to struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but do not know how to do it. They fail to note that the working class without an independent political party is a body without a head.

Revolutionary Syndicalism and Industrialism constitute in this a step forward in comparison with the old and stale revolutionary ideology of the II International, but in comparison with the revolutionary Marxism, i. e., with Communism, Syndicalism, and Industrialism constitute a step backward. The declaration of the “Left” Communists of Germany (made by them in the program declaration of their constituent Congress in April), in which they say that they create a party, “but not a party in the usual traditional meaning of that word” (*Keine Partei im ublichen Sinne*), is a capitulation, from the point of view of ideology, before those views of syndicalism and industrialism, which are reactionary views.

The working class can not triumph completely over the bourgeoisie through the use of only the general strike and the tactics of “crossed arms.” The proletariat must have resort to armed uprising. Those who understand this must also understand that out of this inevitably flows the necessity of an organized political party, and that the formless labor associations are insufficient for this purpose.

The revolutionary Syndicalists often speak of the great significance of a determined revolutionary minority, but in reality a determined revolutionary minority of the working class, a communistic minority, ready to act, having a program placing before itself as its

object the organization of the masses, such a minority will be the Communist Party.

6. The most important object of the true Communist Party consists in being in a close contact with the widest circles of the proletariat.

In order to achieve this the Communists should work also in those associations which, while they have no elements of a party character, cover large working masses, as, for example, the organizations of the old and wounded soldiers in various countries, such committees as the "Hands off Russia" in Great Britain, and Association of Proletarian Tenants, etc. Especially important is the example of the Russian so-called "nonparty conferences" of workmen and peasants. Such conferences are called in almost every city, in every labor quarter, and in every village. The widest circles of the most retrograde working masses take part in the elections to these conferences. These conferences discuss the most pressing questions, such as the questions of food supply, the housing question, the problems of education, the military situation, the political problems of the day, etc. The Communists strive in every way possible to make their influence felt at these "nonparty conferences," and they do this very effectively, so far as the party is concerned.

The Communists consider it their most important task to conduct within these mass organizations systematic organizing and educational work.

7. The Communists do not in any way scorn the mass nonparty labor organizations, even when under certain circumstances they have a clearly reactionary Black-Hundred character (the yellow associations, the peasant unions, etc.). The Communist Party conducts its work constantly within these organizations, always trying to prove to the workmen that the idea of nonpartisanship as a principle is deliberately inculcated in the workmen by the bourgeoisie and its obsequious agents, in order to divert the proletarians from the organized struggle for Socialism.

8. The old "classical" division of the labor movement into three forms (the party, the professional or trade-union, and the cooperatives), has clearly outlived itself. The Proletarian Revolution in Russia has brought to the foreground the basic form of labor dictatorship, viz, the Soviet. In the nearest future the following division will establish itself: First, the party; second, the Soviets; and third, the productive unions. But the work both in the Soviets and in the revolutionized productive unions must be invariably and systematically directed by the party of the proletariat, i. e., the Communist Party. The organized vanguard of the labor class, the Communist Party, serves equally the interests of the economical, the political, and the cultural struggle of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party must be the soul of the productive unions, of the Soviets of Workmen's Deputies, and of all the other forms of proletarian organization.

The appearance of the Soviets as the chief form of the dictatorship of the proletariat furnished by the history does not in any way diminish the directing rôle of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution. When the German "Left" Communists (Cf. the appeal of their party to the German proletariat entitled "To the German Proletariat," dated April 14, 1920, and signed by "The

Communist Labor Party of Germany"), declared that "even the Party should adapt itself more and more to the idea of the Soviet and assume a proletarian character" ("Wird erfordert dass auch die Partei sich immer mehr dem Rätegedanken anpasst und proletarischen Character annimmt"—Kommunistische Arbeiter Zeitung No. 54), this is a timid expression of the idea that the Communist Party should presumably dissolve itself into Soviets and that the Soviets presumably *can take the place* of the Communist Party.

This idea is profoundly incorrect and reactionary.

In the history of the Russian Revolution we saw a whole epoch when the Soviets were against the proletarian party and supported the policy of the agents of the bourgeoisie. The same thing has been observed in Germany; it is possibly also in other countries.

In order that the Soviets could fulfill their historic mission it is necessary on the contrary that there should exist a Communist Party sufficiently strong to be able not merely to "adapt" itself to the Soviets, but to be in a position to exert decisively a pressure on their policy, to compel the Soviets themselves to give up "adaption" to the bourgeoisie and the White Social-Democracy and to be able through the instrumentality of the Communist fraction in the Soviets to *lead* the Soviets after the Communist Party.

Those who suggest that the Communist Party should adapt itself to the Soviet, who consider that through such adaption the "proletarian character" of the party is strengthened, render a very poor service to the party and to the Soviets, for they do not understand the significance of either the party or the Soviets. "The Soviet idea" will conquer all the sooner, the stronger the Communist Party which we shall be able to create in each country will be. "The Soviet idea" is now recognized ostensibly by many "Independent Socialists" and even Socialists of the Right. But these elements can be prevented from corrupting the Soviet idea only if we shall have a powerful Communist Party capable of determining the policy of the Soviet and of leading the Soviets.

9. The Communist Party is necessary for the working class, and not only before the conquest of governmental authority, not only at the time of the conquest of governmental authority, but even after that authority has passed into the hands of the working class. The history of the Russian Communist Party which has held governmental authority in the huge country for three years, shows that the rôle of the Communist Party after the conquest of governmental authority by the working class has not only not decreased but, on the contrary, has increased to an extraordinary extent.

10. On the day following the seizure of governmental authority by the proletariat, its party still remains only a part of the working class. But it is precisely that part of the working class which has organized the victory. The Communist Party in the course of the two decades, as we have seen it in Russia, in the course of a number of years as we see it now in Germany, conducting its struggle not only against the bourgeoisie but also against those "Socialists" who really serve as the conductors of bourgeois influence over the proletariat, has drawn into its ranks the most stable, far-sighted, and advanced militants of the working class. Only in the presence of such a united organization of the best part of the working class is it possible to overcome all the difficulties which rise before the labor dictatorship on

the day after its victory. The organization of a new proletarian Red Army, the actual destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and the creation in its place of the beginnings of a new proletarian state apparatus, the struggle against the guild tendencies among separate groups of workmen, the struggle against local and particularistic "patriotism," the blazing of new paths in the domain of newly created labor discipline—in all these fields the decisive voice belongs to the Communist Party, whose members through their own example lead the majority of the working classes.

11. The aim of a political party of the proletariat disappears only with the complete destruction of classes. In the process of achieving this final victory of Communism it is possible that the specific gravity of the three fundamental proletarian organizations of our time, the party, the Soviet, and the productive unions, will undergo changes, and that eventually a unified type of labor organization will become crystalized. But the Communist Party will become dissolved completely in the working class at the time when Communism will cease to be the aim of the struggle, and when the whole working class will become communistic.

12. The 2nd Congress of the Communist International should not only affirm the historic mission of the Communist Party in general, but should indicate to the International Proletariat, at least in its fundamental features, precisely what kind of a Communist Party we need.

13. The Communist International considers that the Communist Party should be built up on the basis of iron proletarian centralism, particularly in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to be able to direct successfully the activities of the working class in the long and persistent civil war which impends, the Communist Party itself must create within its own ranks iron military order. The experience of the Russian Communist Party, which has directed the civil war of the working class for the course of three years, has shown that without the strictest discipline, without complete centralism, and without unbounded comradely confidence of all the organizations of the party in the directing party center, the victory of the workmen is impossible.

14. The Communist Party must be built on the basis of *democratic centralism*. The main principles of democratic centralism are the election of the upper body by the lower body; the absolute compulsory nature of the decisions of the upper body for the lower, the latter being subordinated to the former; and the existence of an authoritative party center, as the undisputed directing institution of the party life from one Congress to another.

15. A whole series of communist parties in Europe and America, in view of conditions of siege rule adopted by the bourgeoisie against the Communists, are compelled to exist illegally. We must remember that under such circumstances it is some times necessary to give up in part the strict application of the elective principle and to make it possible for the directing party institution to invite in members as has been done in Russia. In what amounts to a state of siege the Communist Party not only can not place very serious questions before all the members of the party for a democratic referendum (as proposed by a faction of the American Communists), but

on the contrary must delegate to its directing center the right in a critical moment to make decisions for all the members of the party.

16. To preach wide "autonomy" for separate local organizations of the party is equivalent at the present time to weakening the ranks of the Communist Party, impairing its efficiency, and rendering assistance to the petty bourgeois anarchist centrifugal tendencies.

17. In a country where the bourgeoisie, or the counter-revolutionary Social-Democracy is in power, the Communist Party must learn to coordinate its legal work with its illegal work, and the legal work must always be *under the effective* control of the illegal party.¹ The parliamentary fractions of the Communists, both in the central and in the local governmental institutions must be entirely and absolutely subordinated to the Communist Party as a whole, irrespective of whether at the given moment the party as a whole is a legal or an illegal organization. All the deputies who in one form or another refuse to submit to the party must be expelled from the ranks of the Communists.

The legal press (newspapers and publishing houses) must be absolutely and entirely subordinated to the party as a whole and to its central committee. No concessions in this regard are permissible.

18. The basic starting point in the whole organization work of the Communist Party must be the creation of communistic groups. Everywhere, wherever there is even a small number of proletarians or semiproletarians, in every Soviet of Workmen's Deputies, in every professional or trade union, in every cooperative organization, in every shop, in every house committee, in every governmental institution, everywhere where there can be found at least three people sympathetic with Communism, it is necessary immediately to organize a communistic group. Only the organized activity of Communists makes it possible for the vanguard of the working class to lead the whole class. All Communist groups, operating in nonparty organizations, must submit implicitly to the party organization as a whole, irrespective of whether the party is at the given moment legal or illegal. The Communist groups of all kinds should recognize further subordination to each other in a strict hierarchial order, and as far as possible according to a most rigid system.

19. The Communist Party should almost everywhere begin as a *municipal* party, as the party of the industrial workmen living mostly in the cities. To secure the easiest and the speediest victory of the working class, it is necessary that the Communist Party should become not only a party of the cities, but also of the villages. The Communist Party should conduct its propaganda and its organization among the agricultural laborers, the small-propertyed, and the middle-class peasantry. The Communist Party should make particular effort to bring about the organization of Communist groups in the villages.

The international organization of the proletariat can be strong only if in all the countries where Communists live and struggle there shall become established the view of the rôle of the Communist Party which has just been stated. The Communist International invites to its congresses every professional or trade union recognizing the prin-

¹ NOTE.—For similar emphasis on the preeminence of the illegal work in the tactics of the Communist Party, see the last part of Lenin's Theses on the fundamental tasks of the 2nd Congress in Appendix I.

ciples of the III International and ready to break with the Yellow International. The Communist International will organize its own international section of red professional or trade unions, which accept the doctrine of Communism. The Communist International will not scorn work in every nonparty labor organization, if the latter should desire to conduct in earnest a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. But the Communist International in every such case will point the following to the proletarians of the whole world:

1. The Communist Party is the chief and the basic instrument for the liberation of the working class. We must now have in every country not groups and movements but a Communist Party.

2. In every country there must be only one united Communist Party.

3. The Communist Party must be built upon the principle of strictest centralization, and during the period of the civil war must establish within its ranks a military discipline.

4. Wherever there are at least 10 proletarians or semiproletarians, the Communist Party must have its organized group.

5. In every nonparty organization there must exist a party Communist group, which must obey implicitly the party as a whole.

6. Defending firmly and undividedly the program and the revolutionary tactics of Communism, the Communist Party must always be in the closest contact with the mass labor organizations, and must hold itself away from sectarianism in the same measure as from lack of principles.

III.

RELATIONS BETWEEN SOVIET INSTITUTIONS AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

3. Theses of Russian Communist Party on 2nd Congress of III International.

[Izvestia, July 16, 1920.]

(1) The year which has passed since the 1st Congress of the III International was characterized by the great development of the international labor movement in all countries and by the inevitable development of national, revolutionary colonial movements.

(2) The dying capitalist world is losing its last resort, the League of Nations; the growing Communist revolution is uniting its forces around the III International.

(3) This growing unity finds expression in (a) the general watchwords of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a Soviet régime and mass revolutionary struggle for a Soviet régime; (b) the formation of Communist Parties throughout the world; (c) the transition of the masses to the Communist Platform of Struggle; (d) the formation of factory committees and the struggle for the participation of workmen in administration, which can be observed in almost all large capitalist countries; (e) the simultaneous international struggle of the proletariat against intervention in Russian affairs and against White Terror in Hungary and Ireland; (f) the growing

wave of strikes and partial uprisings; (g) lastly, the union of the proletariat round the III International which is at present taking place.

(4) This is expressed by the fact that our foreign comrades are splendidly represented at the Congress, which is attended by delegates from all Communist parties and groups and sections closely united with the Communism of England, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Poland, Bulgaria, and the Balkans generally, Finland, etc., of the United States of America, Australia, and finally of the peoples of the East (India, Turkey, Persia, etc.).

(5) The principal object of the International Communist Congress is the introduction of complete unity of tactics into the international movement of the proletariat and the creation of a strong, international headquarters for a proletarian uprising against world Imperialism.

(6) The following are the most important questions to be discussed at the Congress: The construction of and the part to be played by the Communist Party; participation in the trade-union movement, factory committees, utilization of bourgeois parliaments, the national and colonial question, Soviet, international proletarian discipline, etc.

(7) The Congress will have to struggle against members of the "Right" and "Center" parties, who wish to join the III International, which is now a powerful force and has therefore become fashionable, and also against misunderstandings on the part of several comrades of the "Left" who are opposed to severe discipline, the utilization of parliaments, etc.

(8) As the importance of the Congress to the International movement of the proletariat is enormous, its importance, therefore, to Soviet Russia is gigantic and will facilitate our struggle against the pirates of international Imperialism.

(9) By being the directing organization of the International revolutionary proletariat and by leading it to victory, the Communist International is thereby preparing a fraternal union of toiling proletarian Soviet republics. This union will unite industrial and agrarian countries, will assist the reestablishment of national economy on new principles, and once and for all will lead humanity out of the quagmire of capitalist wars, slavery, oppression and exploitation.

(10) The Soviet Republic of Russia should be proud of the fact that it is guarding the world revolution and that its Red Army is defeating all enemies and thereby clearing the way for the victory of the world proletariat.

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

4. Slogans of Russian Communist Party for 2nd Congress of Communist International.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 17, 1920.]

(1) The III International is the alliance of the workmen of all countries to destroy the power of capital.

The Congress of the III International is the war council of the proletarian army on the eve of battle.

(2) Those who fight against white-guardists help the Red front and strengthen the economic situation of the Soviet republics, are aiding the III International in its first victories.

(3) In union is the strength of workmen. In quarrels and strife is the weakness of the capitalists. Proletarians of all countries unite.

(4) The salvation of workwomen and peasant women of all countries, from hunger, cold, and world collapse is in the union of workwomen and workmen under the flag of the III International.

(5) Through the III International to the world dictatorship of the proletariat, and through the dictatorship of the proletariat to the abolition of classes and the most complete liberation of mankind.

(6) Long live the III International, which is fighting to establish an International Soviet of Workmen's Deputies.

(7) Through the III International to the dictatorship of the proletariat in all countries, and through the dictatorship of the proletariat to the complete emancipation of women.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

(1) It is better to struggle, suffer, and triumph than to rot for centuries in bourgeois slavery.

(2) Whoever is against the III International is against the triumph of the proletariat.

(3) Down with the yellow band of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who are the enemies of the world revolutionary alliance of toilers.

(4) We, Russian Communists, founded the III International. The bourgeoisie of the whole world has come to hate us. Proletarians of all countries, unite with us!

(5) Disappear, bourgeois filth, the III International is coming!

(6) Down with the putrid corpse of the compromise II International! Long live the powerful Communist III International!

(7) Down with the government of capitalist brigands and rascals! Long live the world alliance of Soviet republics!

(8) The bourgeoisie wishes to strangle the Russian revolution through the hands of the Polish nobility. The III International will put the hangman's noose on the neck of the cursed bourgeoisie.

(9) World capital is arming the noble Pilsudski and the Baron Wrangel against us. We shall arm all the toilers of the whole world against capital.

(10) Only the III International can pinion the arms of the bourgeois brigands and guarantee peace for Soviet Russia.

MOSCOW COMMITTEE OF THE
RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

5. Conference of Peasants of Northern Region on Communist International.

[Krasnaya Gazeta, July 22, 1920.]

After the 2nd Congress of the Communist International there was held a second conference of the peasants of the Provinces of Petro-

grad, Novgorod, Olonets, Cherepovets, and Pskov, who had been invited to the opening of the Congress. The peasants were very enthusiastic, and one saw that the celebrations of yesterday had made a deep impression on them.

In the opening speech the comrade presiding at the conference spoke of the significance of the enthusiasm with which the entire proletariat of Petrograd came out onto the streets, and also of the latter's strength, and of the strength of the Russian revolution. He referred also to the speeches of the foreign comrades, pointing out the readiness of the workmen of all countries to enter on active campaigns against the bourgeoisie, urging that the Russian proletariat at this critical moment should go hand in hand with the working class, more friendly than ever. This speech was frequently interrupted by lively applause.

Twenty peasants signed up to speak after the introductory speech. In their speeches the peasants spoke of their needs and deprivations, and of certain abuses and omissions of individual persons. They spoke, and with particular bitterness, against speculators and deserters.

In speaking of their needs the peasants were careful to qualify, saying that the deprivations which they have had to suffer did not come through the evil intentions of the Soviet authority, but as a heritage of Tsarism, and that, despite all their needs, they are fulfilling and are ready to fulfill whatever is required by the workmen-peasants' government and by the Red Army.

The chairman of the Russian Central Executive Committee, Comrade Kalinin, in a speech lasting an hour, answered all the peasants' questions and was greeted with loud applause. The peasants listened to Comrade Kalinin with the closest attention. He spoke clearly and simply, in the language of the peasant, and touched on all the vital aspects of peasant life. He strengthened all his answers by examples from the life of the village. The peasants understood him and felt that he was, in fact, a representative of the toilers, who knew all the details of village life.

After long debates, the peasants adopted the following proposal:

- (1) To greet the leaders of the III Communist International.
- (2) To greet the Red Army that is heroically defending all the conquests of the revolution.

On the III International.

We, peasants and workmen of the Provinces of Petrograd, Pskov, Novgorod, Cherepovets, and Olonets, who came together for the 2nd Congress of the III International, have once more become convinced that the salvation of the workmen and peasants lies in the international alliance of all toilers and in their struggle against the bourgeoisie.

On returning to our villages, we shall appeal to all peasants and workmen to join in the fraternal struggle and in the international alliance, which is the III International.

Long live the III International.

Long live the workmen's and peasants' revolution.

On Struggle Against Deserters.

The meeting of peasants recognizes that the victory of the revolution can be hastened only if there are no deserters from the front among peasants and workmen, and has therefore resolved to combat with all its strength the tendency to desert.

Besides discussions and questions, the peasants handed in many memoranda, to which answers will be given in the press in the near future.

The Conference concluded with the singing of the "International," after which the peasants went to visit the former Tsarist palaces, and also the Fortress of Peter and Paul. The peasants said: "We shall see where the Tsar lived, and where he made peasants and workmen sit out prison terms."

(Signed) T. LAPRONOV.

6. The Work of the 2nd Congress of the III International.

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 13, 1920.]

Report to the special session of the Petrograd Soviet:

At a special session of the Petrograd Soviet, held yesterday, Comrades Zinoviev and Bukharin reported on the work of the 2nd Congress of the III International, which has just closed.

Zinoviev's Report.

At the time when the World Congress of the III International held its sessions in Moscow a congress of the II Yellow International was in session in Geneva. It is not known to a certainty what parties were represented at that Congress in Geneva, but if we deduct the parties which sent their representatives to the World Congress in Moscow what we shall get will be a quantity very close to zero. The German Social-Democracy is represented there through the party of Noske and Scheidemann. Hungary sent two representatives, one of whom was a provocatory agent under the bourgeois republic, while the other is now in the service of Gen. Horthy. We can see clearly that the Congress in Moscow represented the working class of the whole world, while the Congress of the Yellow International was a kingdom of phantoms and represented the decayed Social-Democracy.

There is as yet no complete information as to the decisions of the Congress of the Yellow International. It is only known that the Congress adopted a resolution, according to which the workmen may, in case of extreme necessity, make use of the general strike. By means of this resolution the Congress attempts to lay a coat of gilding on the Black or the Yellow International. It offers the general strike as a means of last resort. But the workmen, not only of Russia but also of the other countries, have already gone much further. Armed rebellions have already flared up more than once, and the workmen understand that you can not go very far using only the strike. The remnants of the II Yellow International strive to drag back the masses of the proletariat, to hamper the natural course

of the world revolution. The III International leads the proletariat forward to its final liberation from capital, to the triumph of the proletarian revolution.

The parties which were represented at the Congress are not all uniform.

After four years of tempestuous and difficult times the working class of every country has undergone great changes. The working class had to find itself anew. It is natural that new moods and tendencies must have sprung up in the working class, and they were fully represented at the Congress. We had there representatives of Communistic tendencies and of tendencies that have not as yet assumed definite form, e. g., the Syndicalists, the Industrial Workers of the World, and others. They are not Communists, and sprang into being in the process of the World War. They are, strictly speaking, a huge fist raised over the perishing social order. We differ with them on many points of principle. And the question came up at the Congress as to whether or not we can admit them into the Communist International. In its time the II International had a negative attitude to all such new formations. The III International could not repeat these errors. We must understand that if these new formations have not as yet reached the stage of maturity of the Communist International they constitute, nevertheless, a definite menace to imperialism and a future support of the proletariat struggling against it. We and they follow the same road, and we openly extend our hand to them, inviting them into our ranks.

We can not shut our doors in the face of the purely proletarian and revolutionary elements which come to us. We must take in tow this formless mass and pour a definite meaning into it. After two weeks of work at the Congress we must recognize that we did exactly right in admitting these new formations into the midst of the European proletariat. In this manner we have acquired hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of fresh working units. *We admitted them into the III International in order that, together with us, they would be able to give decisive battle to the world imperialism.*

Characterizing another non-Communist group which was also represented at the Congress, Comrade Zinoviev explained the tactics which were adopted by the Congress with respect to the French Socialist Party. The French Socialist Party was represented at the Congress by Comrades Cachin and Frossard. Of these two, the second was always opposed to war in a manner similar to that of Longuet, while the first came to Russia during the Kerensky régime in order to conduct propaganda for an offensive by the Russian Army.

Now, this representative of a party of repentant sinners sincerely asks for forgiveness for himself and for his party. This party, which was opportunistic before the war, is now ready to join the III International. However, the Congress has found it necessary to fortify in every way possible the entrance to the International whenever the opportunistic parties are concerned, and therefore worked out 21 conditions for admission into the Communist International. For the party of the opportunists to slip by these 21 "obstacles" will be just as easy as for a camel to squeeze through the hole of a needle. But, not satisfied with this, the Congress

handed to the representatives of the French party an open letter to the French workmen, which they must publish in their newspapers and which must open the eyes of the French workers to the true nature of their leaders. In this manner the Congress hopes to break up the French Socialist Party into layers and give it an opportunity to cleanse its organization of the opportunists.

A similar line of tactics was applied partially to the delegates of the German Independent Party. The Congress could not, of course, fail to take into account the fact that in the ranks of this numerically powerful party there are many workers who are real militants for the revolution, and that even now 11,000 revolutionists are languishing in the German prisons. But the Congress succeeded, nevertheless, in introducing some division in the midst of the representatives of the German Independent Party, two of whom have joined unreservedly in all the decisions of the Congress.

But that is not the important thing. We are certain that this division in the form of stratification will reach the very depths of the German Party, and that eventually there will emerge from the Independent Party a mass Communist Party, which will have in its ranks not only the Spartacists but also the revolutionary elements of the Independent Party.

The workmen of France, England, and America have had a bitter experience with their parties, which have betrayed their interests. The workmen have lost faith in their parties; they have ceased to believe that their parties will not betray them at the critical moment, that their parties in the persons of their parliamentary leaders will continue loyal to the proletariat to the very end.

It is necessary to combat this lack of confidence not by words but by deeds. It is necessary to prove that a party, as such, can be at the height of its calling and true to the interests of the working masses under any circumstances. At the Congress we pointed out the Russian, German, and Hungarian Communist Parties. Only such parties can direct the work of the organization of the new life. A corresponding resolution was adopted unanimously. All the groups voted for it. This is the most powerful blow for the bourgeois social order and for the II International. The new grouping which seemed to be taking shape hazily should not and can not be brought into being. The possibility of such a grouping, which would have been a toy in the hands of the bourgeoisie, has now been definitely averted.

The Congress has also emphasized the need of a united Communist International organization and has worked out its statute, according to which the executive committee of the III International is given very wide powers, including that of expelling from the International a whole party for violation of discipline. An international general staff of the revolution is thus created, charged with the duty of maintaining international proletarian discipline, since the experience of the Russian revolution has shown that without firm party discipline Soviet Russia would not have been able to withstand the attacks of her numerous enemies, within and without.

Beyond the walls of the Congress war was raging unabated. When we opened the Congress our Red Army was still far from Warsaw; at the time when the sittings of the Congress came to an end we were already at the very walls of that city.

And the future development of the world revolution will proceed at the same pace as this march of our Red Army. The Russian proletarian revolution has become the mightiest sovereign state in the world. *Menacing the white noble Warsaw, we by that very action tear into scraps the treaty of Versailles.* If the Entente is unable to defend its beloved first born, the white noble Poland, who is going to pay any attention to it? The Entente is capable only of sending threatening messages; gradually these threats become weaker and weaker, changing into uncertain suggestions of threats. And at the same time the Red Army moves forward and forward. It is clear that the bourgeoisie of the small countries ceases to believe in the might of the Entente.

At the time when the members of the Entente mistrust each other, make every effort to deceive each other, and play at war, the International Congress forges a unified program and works out a unified line of action. It is felt that the fraternal unity of the world proletariat becomes ever stronger, while the bourgeoisie rushes about aimlessly, losing the last links of the chain which formerly bound it together.

Comrade Zinoviev concludes his speech by expressing his conviction that the World Congress is the forerunner of an International Soviet Republic.

Bukharin's Report.

Up to now the general directing line of action of the Communist parties of western Europe has been against forcing the revolution. An examination of the tactics followed by these parties leads one to the conclusion that they were afraid of the revolution. They feared isolation in case of the movement of the working class in the given country. In Hungary the Soviet Republic fell, finding itself isolated. It was impossible to retreat at the necessary moment, as the territory was limited. The Italian Socialist (now Communist) Party feared similar isolation, facing the risk of losing imported coal. The same thing has been observed in the Communist parties of the other countries of the West. The Bohemian comrades said about the same thing. The Austrian Communists were afraid to seize authority, fearing the cessation of the importation of raw materials.

We stand on the threshold of two great epochs—the dying imperialism and the resurgent proletariat. The workmen of all countries are passing from the tactics of defense to the tactics of offense. In all the countries there are mines ready to explode at any moment. The imperialistic press of Europe is full of cowardly shouts, “The Bolsheviki are at Europe’s gates.” Everywhere we can see the growing impotence of the bourgeoisie and the increasing strength of the proletariat. This will determine the general line of tactics of the 2nd Congress. The time has arrived to speed up the revolutionary process and similar activities of the united proletariat. We can see this in the boycott of White Poland and White Hungary. We shall do everything in our power to deepen and extend this struggle. This is one of the greatest problems solved by the 2nd Congress. Our Red Army will march forward to new conquests, but the western proletariat will march together with it, clearing its way in the struggle with imperialism.

“III INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS.”

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 10, 1920.]

7. Circular Instructions from All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets.

To all provincial and district executive committees and to all departments of popular education:

The Red Army moves forward, invincible, freeing on its road the proletariat of Lithuania and White Russia from the hirelings of the European bourgeoisie.

The Red proletariat of Europe, represented by the III Communist International, branding with discontent and contempt the unprecedented crime of the bourgeoisie, enthusiastically follows the movements of its first invincible detachment, which is bringing liberation to the world.

It is a great honor to be in the Red ranks, but the sacrifices the toilers of Russia are suffering are also great.

Therefore, let each Red Army soldier at the front know that there is no reason for him to look back, as the rear is living one life with him, is rejoicing in his joy and suffering in his suffering.

Everything that exists in proletarian Russia is concentrating all its strength to give the largest measure of assistance to the front. The same task confronts the departments of popular education.

These departments must make our Red fighters feel that care for their children is being organized by the friendly efforts of the proletariat.

In order to realize this task in the field of social education it is proposed immediately to organize schools and children's homes, at least one institution in each district.

The newly opened institutions are to bear the name “III International School” or “III International Children's Home”; let the flag under which the red army fights always wave from these institutions.

The opening of these institutions should take place not later than September 16 of this year; therefore if quarters are not available the departments should go to their respective executive committees, with requests that quarters occupied by other institutions should immediately be set aside for the above purpose.

Holding the departments of popular education responsible for the prompt carrying out of this circular, and also for weekly telegraphic reports to the People's Commissariat on Education of the progress of work, the praesidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee proposes to all provincial and district committees to cooperate in every way with the departments of popular education for the carrying out of the tasks assigned to the latter.

M. KALININ,

President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

A. LUNACHARSKY,

People's Commissariat on Education.

A. ENUKIDZE,

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee.

IV.

THE INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET INSTITUTIONS.[Petrograd "Communist International,"¹ July 19, 1920.]**8. "The Communist International and the Revolutionary Youth."**

By TATAROV.

Sometime previous to the Zimmerwald conference a conference of Young People's Socialist Organizations took place. This conference proved that the revolutionary youth was upholding the banner of class struggle and of international solidarity. The Young People's Conference in Berne, held at a time when all revolutionary slogans had been forgotten, at a time of general gloom, breathed into the hearts of many true revolutionists the faith that the international fraternity of toilers would be reborn.

The support of Liebknecht by Young People's Organizations and of Lenin by the Swiss youth, united in the well-known "Kegel Club," indicated that the youth was able to withstand the fog of chauvinism and of the party peace declared by Socialist factions at the beginning of the war.

During the war the Young People's Organizations represented the true support of the regenerating international unity of the workmen. The Young People's Organizations represented the extreme Left Wing of the party throughout the war. And when during the war the revolutionary section of the "official" Labor Parties began to form into Communist groups the Young People's Organizations became the nuclei of these groups. At present we have a strong Communist Party in Sweden. It is derived in the main from the Young People's Union, which long before the war represented the radical section of the Swedish Labor Party.

At the first Congress of the Communist International there were no representatives of the young people, but the Congress knew that the revolutionary organizations of young people were its declared followers. And, in fact, the entire period between the 1st Congress and this present 2nd Congress witnessed an uninterrupted struggle of the Young People's Organizations for the ideals of the III International.

In the month of December, 1919, a congress of the Young People's International took place and came out for an inseparable stand with the Communist International.

At the 2nd Congress, Young People's Organizations and the executive committee of the Young People's International will be represented. At this Congress questions relating to the young people will be discussed. All this indicates the inseparable unity of the entire Communist movement with the young people.

In every country the Communist Party is supported by the organization of young people. In Germany the youth has always been in the ranks of the Communist Party. During the revolutionary storm

¹ NOTE.—A special single number of a newspaper published by the editorial staffs of Petrograd Pravda, Krasnaya Gazeta and Trud (Labor).

which passed over the heads of the German workmen the youth acted with unrestrained courage. And when the split came in the Communist movement in Germany the Young People's Organizations followed the Spartacans, seeing in them the party that would actually make of Germany a country of proletarian dictatorship.

In Austria the Communist youth were able to unite those workmen who had consecrated themselves to the revolutionary struggle. The economic crisis in Austria that dealt such a severe blow to the working class reacted even stronger on the youth. The Young People's Organizations became tempered under the influence of this crisis, and they are pushing the Communist Party toward the unification of all the revolutionary workmen of Austria.

The French Young People's Organizations decided to join the III International, and a number of districts formed the bases for Communist groups. The Swiss and the Italian young people's movements are following the Communist International in its entirety. And especially in Switzerland the youth became the fundamental kernel of the Communist Party.

At a time when nearly all Europe had been drawn into the war Spain assumed the rôle of the "defender" of Morocco. Militarism has also established deep roots in that country. And the only true fighter against militarism and the policies of the Spanish Government was the organization of young people.

In America the Young People's Organizations have joined the III International. At present the organization of the young people is taking an independent political line, but as soon as the unification of the Communist parties in America is an accomplished fact the youth will become the loyal supporter of the party.

In the East the Communist movement seized the youth with a strong grip. Khiva, Bokhara, Turkestan, Korea, Far-eastern Siberia, Azerbaidjan—all these countries have vigorous youthful Communist organizations of young people.

The 2nd Congress of the III International will know how to appreciate this great force at its disposal in these revolutionary organizations of young people. The entire working youth is following the Communist International.

The working youth, together with the grown-up workmen, are struggling for Communism throughout the world.

TATAROV.

9. "Appeal to the Transport Workers of the Whole World."

[Izvestia, July 20, 1920; also sent out by wireless.]

The All-Russian Congress of Railroad Workers, who have met in Red Moscow to decide the most important questions in connection with the reestablishment of railroad transportation in the Russian Republic of workmen and peasants, appeal to you, transport workers of the whole world.

Our Congress has convened at a moment of great difficulty for the Russian proletariat. We had just succeeded in destroying the white-guardist bands of the alliance of Tsarist generals Kolchak, Yudenich, and Denikin when new robbers and marauders attacked the Soviet

Republic, the Polish capitalists on the west and Baron von Wrangel on the south.

Supported with arms, money, instructors, cannon, and food supplies by your Governments, the Polish nobles and Baron Wrangel are carrying out the will of the ruling class, which has set itself the aim of strangling Soviet Russia at any cost. But many transport workers' unions of the west, seeing in Soviet Russia the hearth of the world social revolution, and recognizing clearly that the destruction of Soviet Russia will lead to a greater and unprecedented enslavement of the proletariat in all countries, have taken firmly the stand of active assistance to us. This assistance has taken the form of refusing to transport for their Governments the weapons, munitions, and instructors destined for the Polish front.

We welcome with particular joy these transport workers' unions, representing as they do the most effectively revolutionary, conscious, and powerful section of the world proletarian family.

Now that our powerful Red Army has inflicted a mortal blow on the Polish white legionaries and put them to flight; now that the Russian proletariat faces next the question of defeating completely the Polish-Wrangel adventure by concentrating all its strength, you members of transport workers' unions who are transporting to the Polish frontier against us cannon and your white officers must realize that by your cooperation in the matter of transportation you are assisting the Polish noble to drive the bayonet into the Russian workman. Follow the example of opposition of the revolutionary transport workers' unions.

We greet also those transport workers' unions which firmly and actively adopted the policy of boycotting white Hungary, the proletariat of which, like martyrs, is shedding its blood for the cause of the liberation of the working class of the whole world. The boycotting of white Hungary showed the strength and power of the proletariat, which, strengthened by its solidarity, is now strong enough to begin to dictate its will to bourgeois governments.

Having taken the course of boycott, which unites the workmen of various countries by an iron band for their class struggle, you members of transport workers' union should now pass from peaceful means of influencing your governments to revolutionary outbursts of an armed proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

Comrades, the guaranty of victory of the working class in its revolutionary struggle against bourgeois governments depends on the degree of its solidarity and the unity of its tactics in all countries. And now, at this great historic moment of the world outburst of social revolution, the transport unions of the whole world, representing the most powerful weapons of the working class in its class struggle, must unite and form a revolutionary alliance under the flag of the III Communist International. The International Federation of Transport Workers must become the revolutionary general staff of the last battle of the workmen against the bourgeoisie.

Let there be a definite and complete break with peaceful means of class struggle!

Let all start the active struggle against their Governments!

Let all come under the flag of the III Communist International!

10. "Trade-Unions, Unite Under the Banner of the Communist International."

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 5, 1920.]

Appeal to the trade-unions of all countries from the International Soviet of Trade and Industrial Unions:

Comrades, the growth of the trade-union movement of all countries, which was caused by the unprecedented distress falling upon the international proletariat as the result of war, sets persistently before the workmen of the whole world the problem of establishing an international staff of trade-unions.

Two Camps.

The daily facts of our class struggle demonstrate that there can be no salvation outside an international struggle. Now as never before class opposes class; all the forces of the international bourgeoisie, all its means and resources, have been united in one international organization. The bourgeoisie has its own staff in the League of Nations; it concentrates in its hands the entire enormous apparatus of contemporary capitalistic States, in order that it may at the first sign of social danger throw there all its strength and resources.

But the bourgeoisie is not only strong because of its class consciousness, of its organization, and of its deep conception of the international character of the developing struggle; it is even stronger because of the backwardness in class education of the broad masses, and mainly because it finds support in labor organizations while fighting the workmen. This is monstrous, yet it is a fact.

The Treachery of the Trade-Unions.

In fact, what have the trade-unions done in large and small countries during these years of war? How did they fulfill the great covenants of international class solidarity and of proletarian fraternity? The trade-unions were in a large majority solidly for the war policies of their Governments. They cooperated with the bourgeois nationalistic mob of their country; they aroused in the workmen the lowest chauvinistic instincts. That the war lasted so long; that we no longer find in our ranks millions of our brothers; that Europe has been converted into an immense cemetery, and the masses of people have been thrown into despair—for all this the major share of guilt falls upon those leaders of the revolutionary movement who betrayed the masses and who, instead of the great slogan, "Proletarians of all countries, unite," started and supported the new slogan, "Proletarians of all countries, kill and strangle one another."

The Foolish Shepherds.

And these are the very people who for many years have been the servants of their Governments, which employed all of their energy

in mutual exterminating of peoples. These people have set about to reestablish the international of trade-unions which they had demolished through their treachery. In Berne and Amsterdam there assembled the war-tested fighters for the interests of the bourgeoisie—the Legiens, Oudegasts, Jouhaux, Effiltons, Gompers, and others—who, after long nationalistic quarrels and mutual chauvinistic accusations, established an international federation of trade-unions.

The International of Yellow Unions.

What is the principle of this Federation? What is its program? We find our answer to these questions in the fact that the organizers and leaders of this federation of trade-unions in Amsterdam are at the same time the chief actors in the famous Labor Bureau attached to the pirate League of Nations, which bureau was composed of the representatives of organized entrepreneurs of national unions and of the “central” bourgeois governments. The main task of this bureau is, as you know, the continuation and the strengthening of class cooperation which is the basis of the entire war policy of imperialistic countries, for the further exploitation of workmen by international capital. Thus it becomes perfectly evident that the Amsterdam Federation is only a screen for the yellow leaders of the trade-union movement who definitely went over to the imperialists and are attempting now, as they did during the war, to use the organized strength of the labor unions in the interests of capitalistic society. The natural result of such an unnatural combination of interests of the two so absolutely opposed classes is the utter futility and complete inability of both organizations. The Amsterdam Federation and the Paris Labor Bureau attached to the League of Nations are at all events responding in very small measure to the everyday interests of the working class, because both organizations respond to the everyday interests of the bourgeoisie.

A striking example of this failure may be seen in the attitude of the International Confederation toward Soviet Hungary and Soviet Russia. It allowed the first to be strangled without a sign of protest on its part; and if at present it has made a weak attempt by means of an organized boycott to bring the hangman Horthy to his senses, Horthy who with his policy of white terror is too unceremoniously compromising the idea of class cooperation—the International Confederation did it only with the purpose of entering immediately the road of compromise with this very hangman. In its attitude toward Soviet Russia the Amsterdam Federation is acting in a similar manner, and up to the present time it has not taken the trouble to come out definitely and decisively against intervention in Russian affairs, although it well understands that Russia's unsettled position is particularly important and desirable for the Entente.

Such conduct on the part of the Amsterdam Federation is a logical consequence and only a policy representing its national honor. A union composed of Socialist-Patriots and of traitors to the interests of the workmen of different countries can not become anything else but an international assembly of perfidy and treason.

A Revolutionary Staff of Trade-Unions Is Necessary.

The trade-union movement of the whole world can not be satisfied with the mere statement of this fact. The social struggle is becoming acute. The civil war has long since crossed national frontiers. In this bitter struggle between the two hostile worlds, the two hostile systems, the revolutionary class unions are taking, and they can not fail to take, active participation side by side with the Communist Parties of various countries. It becomes evident that the Amsterdam Federation of Trade-Unions, by playing a supplementary rôle to the League of Nations can not serve as the directing center for a revolutionary, class, trade-union movement. Such a center and such a staff must be created in opposition to and in spite of the Amsterdam Center, and such was established July 15 in Moscow by the trade-unions of Russia, Italy, Spain, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, France, and Georgia, under the name of The International Soviet of Trade and Industrial Unions.

The new general staff of the revolutionary trade-union movement, comprising already about 3,000,000 members, is beginning its activity, and appeals to the unions of the whole world to finish with and to break away from those who conduct the criminal policy of agreement with the bourgeoisie, and to unite under the banner of relentless class struggle for the liberation of oppressed mankind. Not peace, but the sword, is the International Soviet of Trade and Industrial Unions carrying to the bourgeoisie of all countries.

All this defines the substance of our activity and of our program: *The overthrow of the bourgeoisie by force, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a merciless class struggle on an international scale, a close and inseparable union with the Communist International.*

On Both Sides of the Barricade.

Whoever thinks that the working class will be able to solve the social problems through negotiations and agreements with the bourgeoisie; whoever thinks that the bourgeoisie will voluntarily yield to the proletariat all the means of production, if the proletariat can only gain a parliamentary majority; whoever believes that at the time of the great break-up of old conditions, when the destinies of the world are being decided, the unions can remain neutral—let all these gentlemen heading the trade-unions know that we consider them our class enemies, and that we shall conduct a relentless war against them, and against the combines created by them.

The International Soviet of Trade and Industrial Unions and the Amsterdam Federation of Trade-Unions are on the opposite sides of the barricade; on one side of the barricade there is social revolution and on the other side social reaction. The choice for the proletarians and for the honest revolutionist is not difficult to make.

Long live the world proletarian revolution! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat! Long live The International Union of Trade and Industrial Unions! Long live the III Communist International!

THE INTERNATIONAL SOVIET OF TRADE UNIONS.

Moscow, August 1, 1920.

11. "The International Bureau of the Proletkult."¹

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 17, 1920.]

During the 2nd Congress of the III International there was organized an international temporary bureau of the Proletkult. It comprises 15 members, representing the following countries: Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Norway, America, and Russia. The following were elected members of the executive committee: A. Lunacharsky (chairman); V. Poliansky (secretary); MacLean (Great Britain); Lefèvre (France); Hertzog (Germany); Bombacci (Italy); Ember-Droz (Switzerland).

The following resolution was adopted by these representatives on the question of organization:

"In accordance with a suggestion of the central committee of the All-Russian Proletkult, we have discussed the great problem of the struggle for a proletarian culture and have decided to create a temporary International Bureau of the Proletkult. The first object of the bureau will be the dissemination of the principles of proletarian culture, the creation of organizations of the Proletkult in all countries, and the preparations for a world congress of the Proletkult."

The International Bureau of the Proletkult has adopted an appeal to the workers of all countries. After pointing out the aims in the struggle for governmental authority, the appeal emphasizes the tremendous significance of the struggle for a proletarian culture, and continues:

"The front of the proletarian culture should not be forgotten even at the moment of the highest tension in the bloody struggle for the establishment of proletarian authority. Just as it is impossible to conduct a war outside of definite economic circumstances, so it is impossible to expect a complete destruction of the bourgeois world without developing the struggle for a proletarian culture. It is impossible to destroy the class division of society without overcoming the individualistic culture.

"Because of its historic development, the proletariat has been marching toward its final objective, world Communism, along the path of political and economic struggle. Now a new labor front is being formed by virtue of the inevitability of history, the revolutionary-cultural-creative front.

"We, the scientific Socialists, strive to lay a strong foundation for the spiritual development of the masses.

"In its struggle for a new, proletarian culture the proletariat will naturally take possession of all the cultural achievements of the past and the present, but it will take a critical attitude toward all the fruits of the old culture. It will accept it not as an obedient pupil but as a builder, charged with the task of erecting a new edifice upon the foundations of communistic economy and comradely relations in collective work and struggle.

"Art, a proletarian poem, a novel, a song, a musical composition, a play, are means of agitation possessing tremendous power. Art organizes feeling in precisely the same manner as ideological propaganda organizes thought; and feelings determine will to act in no smaller degree than do ideas.

¹ NOTE.—Abbreviation for "Proletarian Culture," an institution.

"The Russian Proletkult, organized on the eve of the October revolution, has already justified its purposes. The number of workmen organized in the Proletkults throughout Russia and grouped about the All-Russian Proletkult is no less than 100,000, and of them 80,000 have not only joined the movement but actually take part in the various studios.

"The Proletkult publishes 15 magazines in Russia. It has published 10,000,000 copies of its literature, coming exclusively from the pens of proletarian writers, and about 3,000,000 copies of works of music of different names which are the products of the creative work of proletarian composers. Proletarian artists and actors are also being brought to the front.

"The Russian proletariat, forging during this early period, this early spring of its revolution, a new weapon in the struggle against the bourgeois world, calls upon its European comrades to enter upon the same road in this respect.

"The executive committee appeals to the proletarians of all the countries to organize in each country a conference devoted to proletarian culture and to begin the establishment of a widely spread network of Proletkults, in order that later on a world congress of Proletkults can be called together."

V.

ARTICLES BY RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIST LEADERS.

12. "The General Staff of World Revolution."

By L. KAMENEV.

[Village Commune, July 18, 1920. Also Krasnaya Gazeta.]

The bourgeois governments of the whole world have long been accustomed to frighten the imagination of their citizens with underground conspiracies of revolutionists to bring about a social revolution. A conspiracy of the socialist proletariat against world capitalism is unquestionably now at hand. But how different is this conspiracy from the pictures drawn by the frightened imagination of the petty bourgeois citizen.

Not in a dark cellar with artificial lighting but in the clear light of day with full publicity on an international tribune, in the face of all mankind, the international proletariat through its best representatives now discusses the plan and tactics for the overthrow of the bourgeois governments of Europe and America. The oppressed masses of all countries are taking part in this conspiracy.

Helpless against this conspiracy the governments are incapable of doing anything to prevent the general staff of world revolution from quietly discussing the plan of war. The conference is taking place in that fortress of the proletariat which is inaccessible to the old world—that is, in Soviet Russia, which has fortified the congress and its work against all attack by a steel circle of proletarians armed and hardened by three years of fighting.

By its imperialistic war and its imperialistic peace world capital released the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie of all countries throughout the world. The Communist International takes civil war as the point of departure for all its acts and for all its tactics.

In this war it wishes to triumph.

It must triumph in this war if it does not wish to be destroyed physically and morally. Victory in this war can mean only one thing—the replacing of the dictatorship of capital, which prevails throughout the world, by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To triumph one must be strong. To be strong one must be organized.

Inasmuch as the war has been declared on an international scale, in order to triumph the proletarian army must be organized on international proportions.

But this international organized army of the progressive proletariat of Europe and America has enormous reserves. These reserves are the people of the Orient, oppressed by colonial imperialistic slavery, who have come to understand clearly and feel deeply that they can be liberated from slavery only with the cooperation and under the flag of the III International. The III International is the general staff of this world army, which has started to move and is marching to victory.

Yes; this is a conspiracy. But it is a conspiracy that can not be crushed, one in which millions participate, which is supported by tens of millions—a conspiracy in which the reason of history finds embodiment and which, therefore, is destined to triumph in the end.

L. KAMENEV.

13. Greeting from the Red Army Cavalry of Budeny.

[Village Commune, July 18, 1920.]

In the name of the Red Army Cavalry we send proletarian greetings to the 2nd Congress of the III International.

Comrades, our army feels and recognizes itself as one of the detachments of the great army of world Communism. It is fighting and triumphing under the flag of the world proletarian revolution. The fighters in the cavalry know that by defending Russia and the Ukraine they are thereby defending the cause of the peoples who have revolted and who are revolting.

We know that by destroying the fortresses of the white Polish front we are thereby dealing crushing blows to the blood-filthy alliance of capitalists.

The army of revolution is moving westward.

We swear not to return the sword to the scabbard until the white Polish gates have been reduced to chips, until the peoples of the Orient and of Western Europe have received the possibility of freely uniting in a single fraternal alliance. We know that Soviet Poland, of toilers, will occupy one of the places of honor in this alliance.

The conflict assumes a decisive character. The bourgeoisie is mobilizing its forces. The time has come when the working class

must proclaim, in the words of the platform of our International, "Arms against arms and force against force!"

We shall be happy on the day when together with the proletarians of the West we shall give decisive battle to the world bourgeoisie, when our army will receive the order to operate from Red Paris, Berlin, or London.

From the Red front, from the line of battle fire, where soldiers, commanders, and commissaries shed their blood for the victory of the world revolution, from the Red front where one does not talk but works for the great cause of revolution, we send fraternal greetings to the Congress of World Communism. Under the hail of bullets and the thunder of cannon we are shouting, "Long live the World Republic of Soviets. Long live the International Red Army. Long live the 2nd Congress of the Communist International."

BUDENY,

Commander of the Cavalry Army.

BOROSHILOV,

Member of the Revolutionary Military Soviet.

VARDIN,

Director of Political Section.

14. "2nd World Congress of Communist International."

By G. ZINOVIEV.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 18, 1920.]

On July 4-17, 1920, in Red Petrograd, opens the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International. Exactly three years after the memorable July days! Who of our most daring optimists dreamed after the defeat in July, 1917, that in three years we would make such gigantic steps forward? Is this not a symbol? In that very city where exactly three years ago the white-guardist bourgeoisie with impunity crucified workmen to the crooning of an international band of imperialists—in that same glorious city which has suffered so many storms and trials—now gathers the world congress of proletarian Communists, which attracts and holds the attention of the entire world.

The bourgeoisie grows weaker daily; the proletariat irresistibly rises to power. This is the formula under which the world movement of the last three years has developed. At the present moment all realize this: Quantity is about to become quality; the moment will soon come when mankind will take the long-expected jump from the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom. During the 1st Constituent Congress of the Communist International, international Communism was simply a tendency. At the present moment, on the eve of the 2nd World Congress, international communism is no longer simply a tendency; it is a *powerful organization*. "What has been won and inscribed" was how Comrade Lenin formulated the results of the 1st Congress. The 1st Constituent Congress of the Communist International simply formulated and inscribed what had been won.

But what, in fact, had we won by March, 1919, speaking on a world scale? Only the fact that the idea of Communism had begun to become the "idea of the fourth estate." No more. And now? Now the II International has been smashed to pieces. Now only one mass organization remains in the hands of the Socialists-Traitors. I mean the international organization of trade-unions. But even this international union has begun to crack. Differentiation has set in. And unless we shall make supernatural mistakes the time is near when we shall capture this last fortress of Socialist-Patriotism.

Six months ago there began an epidemic of breaking away of old Socialist parties from the II International. From the yellow II International went out one after the other, the Independent Party of Germany, the French Socialist Party, the Independent Labor Party of England, the Socialist Party of Switzerland, the Socialist Party of Spain, the Socialist Party of America, and other parties. A new period has already begun; the old Socialist parties, which only recently adhered to the II International, under the pressure from working masses are declaring their desire to enter immediately the ranks of the III International.

During the last days the telegraph brought news that the Menshevik Social-Democratic Party of Bulgaria resolved definitely to enter immediately the ranks of the III International. This Bulgarian Party is a party of the most established opportunists. The leaders of this party have frequently sat in a bourgeois parliament and have helped the bourgeoisie in every possible way. But the workmen are pushing even this party into the ranks of the Communist International.

The Communist International, of course, will think ten times before it admits to its ranks the above-enumerated parties. In each case it will secure serious guarantees that adherence to the Communist International will not be simply adherence in words. But in any case the fact that all the oldest Socialist parties, which only recently belonged to the II International, are asking to be admitted into the ranks of the Communist International is an indirect proof of the extent to which the Communist International rules over the minds of the proletariat of the entire world.

At the same time before our very eyes the Orient has waked up. The revolutionary events in the Orient have only just started. The rôle of the Communist minority in oriental countries, however small this minority may be numerically, will be colossal. No one will be able to say where the victorious revolution will be completed the sooner—in the West or in the Orient.

In truth we can now say: The international bourgeoisie, all these leagues of nations, the bourgeois constituent assemblies, international diplomats, and stock-exchange kings now are unable to make a single step without first thinking whether it will not strengthen the Communist International.

In an article entitled "The Prospects of World Revolution," written immediately after the 1st Constituent Congress of the Communist International, the writer of these lines expressed the hope that in a year or so we would begin to forget that a struggle for the Soviet authority was taking place in Europe, because the struggle for Soviet authority would be transferred to other parts of the world.

These last days we had occasion to read an article by a bourgeois German professor, who quoted this portion in our article with glee and maliciously asked: "Well, what about it? The year has passed, and the struggle for Soviet authority in Europe has not yet been concluded." We can calmly note this joy of the respected bourgeois professor. "Well, what about it?", we shall say to every bourgeois: "Yes, perhaps we were wrong; not one year, but two or three will be necessary for all Europe to become Soviet. You still have a short period of grace before you will be destroyed. But if you have now become so modest that you rejoice at these few months of grace, or a few years, then we, in any case, congratulate you on your unusual modesty."

At the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International are present representatives of the workmen's organizations of practically the whole world. This is the genuine General International Soviet of the leaders of the international proletariat. The 2nd World Congress of the Communist International came into history on that very day and hour when it opened its sittings.

Wholeheartedly and with a full realization of the great historic importance of the event taking place, the workmen of all Russia, and, first of all, of Red Petrograd, where this world historic Congress opens, welcome and greet the Communist International.

G. ZINOVIEV.¹

15. "The III International."

[Editorial in *Economic Life*, the official organ of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy, and of the Commissariats of Finance, Supplies, and Foreign Trade, July 21, 1920.]

On the 19th of July the 2nd Congress of the III International began its sessions in the capital of the proletarian revolution, Petrograd.

The revolutionary class consciousness of the working masses of the whole world has overturned all the barriers which in the course of the war were erected by the imperialistic bourgeoisie and the II International, in order to separate from each other the different national groups of the proletariat, and has brought to the point of realization the great watchword, "Proletarians of all countries unite."

The four years of the war and its immediate results, the industrial disorganization, starvation, unemployment, the impoverishment of the masses on the one hand, and the growth of unprecedented wealth and extravagance on the other, have opened the eyes of even the most backward elements in the proletariat, have shown to them plainly the necessity of united and coordinated efforts in their struggle against capital, and have brought them to the organization of a unified and mighty revolutionary army of labor.

The proletarians of all countries have sent their representatives to the 2nd Congress, and the mighty organization of a world league of

¹ NOTE.—A 3,000-word article entitled "The Communist International, Past and Future (What It Has Been, and Should Become)," by Zinoviev, appeared in a special newspaper number of the Communist International of July 19, announced as a summary of an article to appear in No. 12 of the Communist International, which is the official organ of the III International; it is printed in full in Appendix II herewith.

the real peoples was demonstrated in Petrograd before the face of the whole world as a counterbalance to the pitiful creation of bourgeois policy.

The imperialists of the Entente, after having crushed their competitors in the world market, and realizing the economic consequences of the war which expressed themselves in the destruction of economic values worth many billions and in the catastrophic decrease and destruction of productive forces, have made efforts to find a way out of this economic ruin which threatens their very existence, through an organization of economic development on a world scale. The plan for the creation of a Supreme Economic Council attached to the League of Nations had for one of its aims the compelling of a whole series of independent national economic units to submit to the will and interests of the allied capital, through the application of economic terror on the part of the triumphant victors. It was intended to work out a unified economic plan which would provide for an exact relation between needs and production, for an economical and rational distribution of raw materials, fuel, food supply, for a productive utilization of means of transportation and a proper distribution of labor forces. In reality, however, the celebrated League of Nations has been compelled to serve merely as a screen behind which the enslavement of the whole world was going on, made possible after Germany was removed from the world market as the most important competitor.

The international bourgeoisie understood very well the economic situation which was created in the world market as a result of the war, and sought desperately for a way out of the economic tight corner which threatened its destruction. Its scientists, in their academic thinking, i. e., removing themselves from the very essence of capitalistic economy, believed in their simplicity or dishonesty that it would be sufficient for the bourgeoisie to come to an agreement in its own midst, and everything else would settle down into a predetermined channel. Thus a plan of world economic organization, created outside of national and customs boundaries, with a unified money system, with a unified plan of production and distribution based on the mutual aid and support of the separate members of this world association, but with preservation of private property relations and bases of capitalism, became at the beginning of last year the center around which the bourgeois thought of the West revolved. The II International also believed in these hopes of the bourgeoisie. Its leaders in answer to Wilson's invitation went to Washington in order to attend the conference at which the representatives of the capitalists and their imperialistic Governments were to work out the laws for the working class which were expected, in their opinion, to make the whole proletariat happy in the conditions of capitalism. Questions were raised about the establishment of an obligatory eight-hour day, about the establishment of norms of wages, about all sorts of social legislation, etc.

But as time went on all these illusions were quickly dispelled. The centrifugal force of national capitalistic interests proved to be stronger than the academic considerations of liberal and socialist patriotic ideologists. The economic and financial interests of America quickly put an end to her participation in the celebrated

League of Nations; England, in her hunt for new prey, also forgot very quickly the covenant of the league and continued her beloved method of seizing other people's territory and guaranteeing for herself her mastery of the seas. The British participation in the creation of independent border republics on the Baltic and Black Seas brought those methods to a head insistently and decisively.

France, fearing most of all that her allies may take away from her some of those benefits which she might derive from vanquished Germany and the rest of Central Europe, entered upon the road of diplomatic intrigue and plots. As a result, instead of a solidary international organization of capital, we have constant dissension, the pitiful animal egoism of the capitalists of different countries and, instead of a league of peoples, a whole series of divided and mutually inimical national-capitalistic States. Instead of a unified economic plan and a unified system of distribution we have uncontrollable speculation and the looting of the vanquished. Instead of the defense of workmen and labor we have political white terror and lockouts. And it must be noted that the past year and a half not only were not a period of reconstruction of the world economy disorganized by the war; but on the contrary, thanks to the rule of the capitalistic order and its specific peculiarities, that tragic situation in which humanity found itself as a result of the imperialistic war grew still worse. Even now the armed encounters have not ceased in those territories which, by the agreement of the victors, were allotted among them. The rapacious economic order continues, and the desire for exploitation reigns supreme, while the process of ruin and disorganization grows rapidly in width and in depth.

All this could not fail to be realized by the world proletariat. The watchword calling for a struggle for the destruction of capital and the creation of a truly socialistic, economic order on a world scale acquired in the eyes of the working masses of the whole world an actual meaning and real forms, as the only possible way out of the difficult economic situation that had been created for them. The example of Soviet Russia, a country backward economically, disorganized by war, blockade and civil war, but which was, nevertheless, able not only to continue its existence, but also to create a powerful Red army, equipped with everything that was necessary, up to the most modern, technical improvements, has been the best proof that if Soviet Russia has been able to exist at all, not a small part of the credit for this should be given to her economic system, the system of organized economy. The proletariat of western Europe has had occasion to become convinced through experience that the Soviet authority is directed not by the private interests of individual business men, but by the interests of State expediency. And, finally, the very fact that in Soviet Russia there has been entirely abolished all possible acquisition of the fruit of other men's toil, and that all exploitation, all factories and foundries, the earth and everything it contains, have ceased to be the instruments and the means of aggrandizement and enrichment, but are the possession of the working class which has taken governmental authority into its hands—all this could not fail to influence the consciousness of the widest masses.

The difficult situation in which Soviet Russia finds itself has not been seized by the proletariat of other countries as an argument

against the Soviet authority and its economic system, but as an argument against all the imperialists who torture a population of many millions by means of a blockade and the organization of a counter-revolution. The desire to go to Soviet Russia, which has become more and more manifest among the workmen of western Europe, is the best proof that in spite of the difficulties which attend our life, the workmen of western Europe see in Soviet Russia their own country, their socialistic motherland. To the centrifugal character of the national capitalistic interests, the working class has answered with the centripetal character of its revolutionary efforts.

At the present time, when the questions taken up for discussion by the revolutionary workmen of the whole world are not those concerned with the problems of conquering even the maximum concessions from the enemy class of capitalists, but those concerned with the struggle for power, there is no doubt that simultaneously with the decision of this question there will also be settled the question of the international economic organization on a communistic basis of a unified, economic territory governed socialistically, and of the closest possible amity in the world proletariat for the purpose of regenerating the productive forces.

Through the victory of the Russian proletariat a huge territory, rich in raw materials, capable of producing an abundance of food products, fuel, different ores and precious metals, etc., has been taken out of the power of capital. It is natural that every detachment of the III International, which within the boundaries of its State life will take power into its hands, will place itself side by side with us as a new member of the socialistic society which is being born. As the number of such economic territories will grow, territories on which the European proletariat will destroy the power of capital in a decisive battle, the extent and the power of the future socialist revolution will become stronger and stronger.

The Russian proletariat brings into the III International not only a huge, compact, and victorious Red Army, not only a State in which the rule of the workers is a reality, but also a colossal fund of economic values which has been taken away from capital at the cost of many sacrifices and much suffering, and placed at the disposal of the world revolution as one of its material bases, as a foundation for the development of the productive forces of every new workmen's industrial, socialist State.

The working class of Russia, in the fearful struggle of the past three years, resisted its enslavement in the name of the world revolution. It is now the turn of the world proletariat to free itself from the chains of capital and to create a world socialistic republic.

(Signed) UR.

16. "The Vanguard of the International Proletariat."

By N. BUKHARIN.

[Moscow Pravda, Aug. 3, 1920.]

The international proletarian movement is more and more rapidly developing into a movement directed by Communist Parties and their unifying organization—the Communist International. This

change, however, has not as yet been fully perfected. Besides, there are coming into the Communist Party from various directions a portion of the workers who had passed through the old Social-Democratic school (even the "Strict-trainers") through devious ways, like parties of the "Center" (English and German "Independents"), gradually breaking the bounds of ancient traditions. These have learned through the experience of mass struggles, and now find it necessary to have a single centralized party.

The other portion of the proletariat, driven away by the repulsive, petty partisan, parliamentary, social-traitorous organizations, into the camp of the opponents on principle of "politics" in general and of political parties in particular, come to revolutionary Communism from the one side, and from a rejection of parties in general, to a recognition of the Communist Party.

Finally, the "new," crude, formerly nonpartisan, and very often even unorganized masses, drawn by the course of revolutionary struggle into the general process, either directly or clambering along step by step, gradually realize the necessity of entering the ranks of the Communist Party. This is quite easily understood, for the opportunist parties and the opponents of parties on principle as such, in the main proceed (consciously or unconsciously) upon one and the same *reformist* illusion concerning the comparative ease of the struggle. The class-conscious opportunists stand wholly upon the point of view of the stability of the old relations, and of a slow, gradual, "prudent" policy. But—strange as this may sound—even the "Left Wing" critics of parties (Syndicalist, I. W. W., and others) do not realize the full degree of the stubbornness, and the *warlike character* of the revolution, which is, you know, nothing else but civil war. It is worth while to recall the anarcho-syndicalist theory of "the strike of folded arms."

For us Bolsheviks the highest form of struggle with capital for the conquest of authority is an *armed uprising*; many of those who reject parties prefer the *general* strike. Life completely supports *our* point of view. No sort of situation in production and no kind of strike of itself can decide the matter, for the opposition of the entire governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie will be encountered, and then inevitably the bayonet will become the order of the day. But if it is clear that revolution is civil war, that it is an armed struggle of the workers with the bourgeoisie, then it is also quite clear that the working class, like *every* belligerent country, must have a closely united vanguard, with military discipline, with a military staff to direct the struggle, and all must be subordinate to this staff. And such a vanguard is the party. And whoever once for all realizes all the *gravity* of the struggle, all its historically inevitable cruelty, and all its military character, at the same time once for all will also realize the necessity of the Communist Party.

In this connection, our International Communist Congress has *already* played a tremendous rôle. The Russian delegation, from the very beginning, even in opposition to the opinion of German friends (Spartacides), insisted upon the admission with a *decisive* voice, of the anarcho-syndicalists, the I. W. W., the English shop-stewards, etc. And what then? In the committee as well as in Congress, a resolution on the rôle of the party was *adopted unanimously*. The

French syndicalist, Comrade Rosmer, subscribed to it. The representatives of the English shop-stewards committees subscribed to it. The I. W. W. subscribed to it. There was *not a single protest* when it was put to the vote. What does that mean? It means that the necessity precisely of a party, precisely a centralized one and precisely a military one, has become plainly clear to all serious adherents of the revolution, but not to babblers. For, we repeat, it is a matter of direct armed struggle.

We not only did not lose by admitting honest revolutionary workers to the Congress, who until now have *not been* Communists; on the contrary, we have *already* gained thereby. Only in this manner can the unity of the proletarian revolutionists actually be brought about. The business of the Marxists is not to stew in their own juice and to be joined to a group of superior comrades who know and understand everything. The business of the Marxists is continually to widen the sphere of their influence and to draw all sincere adherents of the revolution into their ranks. The Congress showed the correctness of these tactics in the clearest light. It may be counted upon with the fullest assurance that its result will be an enormous increase in the growth of the Communist movement, a rallying of the forces of the proletariat, its support, discipline, organization, and stability in the greatest of class battles, which shall lead to the creation of a new humanity.

N. BUKHARIN.

17. "The Results of International Congress," by Yu. Steklov.

[Leading article, Moscow Izvestia, Aug. 8, 1920.]

The 2nd Congress of the Communist International is ended. Now one can make certain summarizing statements of its work.

First of all, let us note the basic feature of the Congress, namely, the unity in the state of mind of its participants and the unanimity on all principal questions. Whoever recall the congresses of the II International, with their clear division into two wings which differed on fundamental questions of program and tactics and frequently were definitely hostile in their attitude toward one another, can not fail to note the profound difference between the old and the new international organizations. We do not say that there are no differences of opinion in the III International. On the contrary, sometimes the divergence between the majority of the Congress and its "Left" wing expressed itself very sharply. But if there was here difference of opinion, it was not, however, divergence with respect to the fundamental aims. All who participated in the Congress were striving ardently *to bring about the liberation of the proletariat and revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie in all fields and under all flags*; and if they sometimes quarreled among themselves, it was simply on the question of *by what roads one can secure more surely this generally recognized aim and by what means can it be attained more quickly and without mistakes*.

It is necessary to note also another profound difference. The II International did not have any discipline, either internal or ex-

ternal. It would adopt decisions, but it did not even wish to follow up their actual execution. Knowing in advance that the resolutions adopted did not obligate in any way its members, the II International frequently would adopt radical decisions, which did not correspond to its actual state of mind and plans. Such was the resolution adopted three times as proposed by the "Lefts," respecting the converting of an imperialistic war into civil war; that is, respecting the using of the World War for the world social revolution. And if those who voted for resolutions did not consider themselves obligated thereby, then of course those who voted against them did not wish to take them into account at all.

It is not thus in the Communist International. On a whole series of questions (on the rôle of the Communist Party, on parliamentarism, on the trade-union movement, on conditions of admittance to the Communist International, etc.), sharp debates and quarrels took place at the Congress, but when it came to voting unanimity was reestablished. *The majority of the resolutions on fundamental questions were adopted unanimously, or almost unanimously.* And even those who voted against, in a majority of instances, declared their *submission to the decisions taken.*

But this last fact, of course, is self-understood. In contradistinction to its predecessor, the III International is not a debating club, but an organization of action. It wishes to be not the arena of academic discussions between parties independent one of the other, which temporarily come together for parlor talks; it wishes to be the *centralized militant coordinating body of the international detachments of a single Communist Party, single both in its theoretic views and in its practical work.* And this bringing together with respect to ideas and tactics of the proletarian vanguard, which was accomplished at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, represents probably the most important attainment of the Congress. All the rest will adapt itself.

The Congress adopted resolutions that were of a definitely revolutionary and militant content. At the same time it was able to note the correct line that leads not to a rupture with the masses but to the closest union with them. It reaffirmed that true revolutionism implies the knowledge to choose the most expedient means and to use the elementally developing movement of the masses for the purpose of bringing about their actual liberation. Once more it showed that Communists do not represent any special party that sets itself up against other forms of the workmen's movement, but are simply the latter's advance detachment, which is striving for the complete liberation of the proletariat, at each stage of the movement formulating and defending the general interests of the working class as a whole.

If the representatives at the Congress of parties that have not yet been accepted into the III International, such as the French and the German Independents, were obliged to declare that they will accept the decisions of the Congress in letter and spirit, by this declaration they involuntarily paid tribute to the historic truth of the program and tactics of the Communist International, and on their part testified that the decisions of the Congress correspond to the state of mind of the working masses which are behind these parties, and will therefore inevitably meet with the heartiest response in these masses.

Soldiers put on clean underwear before a battle. In preparing for the decisive storming of the citadels of bourgeois rule the proletariat is getting ready to cleanse its ranks. The decisions of the 2nd Congress referring to this last point, which are applicable not only to the parties that are getting ready to enter the ranks of the Communist International, but also to those that are already in its ranks, also undoubtedly correspond to a desire of the working masses themselves, who have been taught by bitter experience and do not wish any longer to be betrayed at the critical moment.

The 2nd Congress enters the history of proletarian struggle at an important stage of the latter. The bourgeoisie of the whole world will raise a shout against the revolutionary decisions of the Congress. It will set in motion all the sabers of its policemen, all the prayers of its priests, and all the wiles of the Socialist-Traitors to ward off the threatening danger. It will not hesitate to use coaxings and repressions to break the spirit of the growing movement and to disorganize its ranks. But nothing will stop the historic current. Repressions will only pour oil on the fire and increase the energy of the proletarian vanguard which, supported by the decisions of the 2nd Congress, will be able soon to gather under the flag of the Communist International wide working masses and lead them into the last decisive fight.

"A NEW WORLD."

More on the Results of the Congress.

[Leading article, Moscow Izvestia, Aug. 11, 1920.]

A new world is awakening to life and to struggle—the world of the oppressed nationalities, which has been united by us, though not quite correctly, under the name of the East. For here are found not only the peoples of Asia, but also those of Africa and America (like the Mexicans, the Negro population of the United States, and others).

Till now the white race pretended to represent all mankind, and without good grounds. Even in numbers the oppressed peoples (colored races) were at least twice as strong as the white race. Without referring to the fact that the civilization of the East is older than ours, we must not forget that what we call the immobility of the East is in part simply the fruit of our ignorance of a life and relations which we do not understand. The East has lived and still lives. It is true that its development had been held back by the violence of European conquerors and of the colonial policy of capital, which deliberately destroyed productive forces in the East, or at least retarded their natural development. But this same violence aroused the oppressed peoples to resistance and struggle and gave to the struggling international proletariat a new and powerful ally.

Because of its very character, the II International was unable either to arouse a revolutionary movement among the oppressed peoples or to take advantage of an already existing movement. While verbally condemning the colonial policy of the bourgeoisie, the parties that belonged to the II International supported the policy of their own bourgeoisie in general and, consequently, of its colonial

policy also. Further, among the German, Belgian, and Dutch Socialists there was a tendency that approved the colonial policy of capital where it was cleansed of its "excesses." And these gentlemen were so shameless as to preach these ideas even at the Congresses of the International.

The platonic protests of the II International against colonial policy remained on paper. In reality the Social Democracy did nothing to combat this policy of exploiting and oppressing hundreds of millions of the colonial population. It did not combat in a revolutionary way the policy of its bourgeoisie at home, still less did it think of arousing the revolutionary protest of the oppressed peoples themselves or of active support to the sporadic revolutionary movements that broke out among them. Is it then surprising that the oppressed peoples themselves finally extended their hatred and distrust for the European and American bourgeoisie to the workmen of these countries? The bourgeoisie could only derive joy from this.

The Communist International acts differently. Already the fact alone of the existence of Soviet Russia, and the policy carried out by the latter with respect to the national questions, have aroused the oppressed peoples to new outbursts of struggle against world capital. The 2nd Congress of the Communist International has played an enormous rôle in this liberation movement, coming so opportunely to the assistance of the revolutionary struggle of the European and American working class. The III International not only stands in close solidarity with the revolutionary uprisings of oppressed peoples against capitalistic domination, but it imposes the duty on Communist Parties of all countries, and particularly those countries that oppress, to give active support to the revolutionary movement of colonies when it is directed against the bourgeoisie of the oppressor.

Thus the international solidarity of the toilers receives its complete realization. Till now the British workman, for example, could believe that he was doing his international duty when he adopted a resolution of protest against the attack of the Entente on Soviet Russia or subscribed a shilling for the support of the strikers in some other European country. Now the Communist International says to him that if he wishes to free himself from the yoke of capital, then his straight duty as a proletarian is to give active support both to the proletarians of other countries and also to oppressed peoples, and particularly to those oppressed by his own bourgeoisie. The same thing applies to the French workman, the American, Belgian, Dutch, and in general to the workmen of all those countries that have colonies and oppress other peoples, i. e., to the workmen of all the important capitalistic, or, as they call themselves, the "great" countries.

When the news of the decisions of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International reaches the hundreds of millions of Indians, Chinese, Negroes, Malays, and other oppressed peoples, it will mean happy tidings for them, and also the call for a new and greater struggle against capital that exploits them. In the hope of active support from the international organized proletariat, these peasant and workmen masses of colonies or semicolonies will double or increase tenfold their energies in the desperate resistance to the killing yoke of the bourgeoisie that exploits them. From this

awakening of the revolutionary struggle among the oppressed peoples, the proletarian struggle in the old capitalistic countries can only gain. It is still a question where the first decisive blows to the world bourgeoisie will be dealt—in the metropolis or in the colonies. In any case it is clear the extension of the struggle against capital to the entire globe of the earth, and the bringing into the orbit of this struggle of the many millions of the masses of the East which till now were dead weight on the road of history—in a word the giving to this struggle of the character of a movement which for the first time has assumed a really world-wide scale will hasten the collapse, now due, of capitalism and will bring nearer the end of bourgeois domination.

In the history of the world struggle against oppression, with the bringing in of the colossal masses of the oppressed peoples a new phase begins. And one of the immortal services of the Communist International will always remain the fact that it was the first openly to raise the flag of this struggle, and to call to this flag all the oppressed peoples and the entire organized international proletariat.

YU. STEKLOV.

VI.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ON WESTERN EUROPE AND THE EAST.

18. Headlines in English, French, German, Italian, and Russian.

[Communist International (newspaper edition), July 19, 1920, and Petrograd Pravda, July 18, 1920.]

The revolution does not come of itself—one must prepare it.

The bourgeoisie has slaughtered twenty millions of people during the imperialist war. The Communist International is their revenger and deliverer of the world.

Kings, bankers, and presidents will tremble from fear at all news of the new success of the Moscow International! The proletarians of Europe will not delay dealing them the mortal blow.

The red trade-unions are weapons of proletarian deliverance, the "yellow" ones of enslavement.

The Old World has declared war without quarter on the revolutionary international! "You wish war—you will receive death," the revolutionary proletarian will say to capital.

In all corners of our planet resounds the measured tread of workmen's battalions, marching to storm the bastille of capital.

Long live the International Red Army! Workmen of Italy! Drive out the reformists; they are betraying you at the critical hour.

19. Appeal in Russian, German, French, and English. "To all the Workers of Petrograd."

[Placard distributed in Petrograd on the day of the opening of the Congress, July 19, 1920.]

COMRADES AND FELLOW-CITIZENS!

A great historical day! To-day within the walls of our city the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International will be opened.

The best men of all the world, the best fighters of the international proletariat have come to us to open their Congress here. The representatives of the workers' parties and labor unions have come to Red Petrograd from the following countries: America, Australia, Austria, Azerbaidjan, Bulgaria, China, Denmark, Dutch colonies, England, Esthonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Gruzinia, Holland, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Korea, Latvia, Mexico, Norway, Persia, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Yugoslavia (Serbia), and others.

Mankind has lost twenty millions of people as a result of the imperialist slaughter of 1914-1918. At this moment for the first time the working class of the whole world has so far recovered from the unheard-of bloodletting that it is able to take the fate of its class into its own hands and raise the question how to preserve mankind from a repetition of similar bloody wars.

Remember the imperialist war!

Remember the last war of 1914-1918!

Act so that destructive wars shall be impossible!

Establish the Soviet power throughout the whole world!

Such will be the first words of the Congress.

The Communist International has become the international general staff of the fighting proletariat of the whole world. During the three years that have elapsed since the great proletarian revolution, Russia has won the hearts of the workers of the earth. All the intrigues of the bloody Entente, all the crafty conspiracies of the world bourgeoisie have been powerless against the steadfastness of the international proletariat, which is every day giving a stauncher and stronger support.

A great honor has fallen to the share of Red Petrograd. The best leaders of humanity marching toward its liberation have come to us. The 2nd World Congress of the Communist International has decided to open its sessions in our city in order to do due honor to the city which was the first in history to raise the banner of a proletarian revolt and lead Russia to a Socialist victory. The advanced workers of all countries, in the persons of their representatives, pay tribute of respect and affection to the Russian proletarians, who have sacrificed hundreds of thousands of their best sons on the battle fronts; who during three years have suffered the most cruel tortures of hunger; who have defended their city like lions each time that danger threatened it on the part of the White Guards, and who, in spite of all reverses, have managed to preserve their powerful proletarian organization and labor discipline.

Petrograd—the great revolutionary city!

Petrograd—the struggling proletarians of all the world are proud of you!

History has decreed that the 2nd World Congress should be opened in Petrograd just three years after the memorable July days. In the beginning of July, 1917, the Russian bourgeoisie, acting in unity with the betrayers of the workers' cause, the Mensheviki and Social Revolutionaries, shot down the Petrograd workmen and the sailors of Kronstadt in the streets with impunity. In the beginning of July, 1920, the working population of Petrograd, moved by a common brotherly impulse, welded together by the bonds of brotherly

solidarity, is meeting the representatives of the international proletariat, who have come to us to discuss the question of how to help the international proletariat to a complete victory over the bourgeoisie. The beautiful fairy tale is becoming a reality, the dream of the boldest minds of the Petrograd workers is coming true.

Red Petrograd! You should appreciate the great historical importance of this day! You should remember that to-day the eyes of the workers of the whole world are upon you! You should register a vow to be worthy of the great honor accorded you by the proletarians of all countries!

Red Petrograd is meeting to-day the best representatives of the proletariat of the whole world. Red Petrograd joins together to-day in one mighty cry:

Long live the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International!

Long live the Communist International!

PETROGRAD COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKERS AND RED-ARMY DEPUTIES.

PETROGRAD SOVIET OF LABOR UNIONS.

20. Message from Petrograd Soviet to Italian Workmen and Soldiers.

[Petrograd Pravda, June 10, 1920.]

Message to the Revolutionary Proletariat and to the Revolutionary Soldiers of Italy.

[By wireless, from the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Red Army Deputies.]

Brothers of the Italian proletariat!

We appeal to you with feelings of the deepest emotion. In the person of your delegation we honor the entire Italian proletariat and all the glorious revolutionary soldiers of Italy, the future foundation of the Italian Red Army.

The Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Red Army Deputies, together with all the rest of the proletarian and military organizations of the city and Province of Petrograd, assembled to-day in honor of your delegates, declare to you that the moment of our meeting with the representatives of the Italian laboring people is for us one of the greatest happiness.

The Russian workers very well know what a difficult and thorny path the Italian proletariat has trod since the beginning of the imperialistic war. But you did not lower your flag; you did not let yourselves be deceived by treacherous phrases about the "defense of the fatherland" in a war in which the real business was that of plunder; you protested against the robber-war from the first minutes of its beginning. You answered all the persecutions on the part of the bourgeoisie with contempt for your persecutors, and by rallying your strength for further struggle against capital. With long years of tireless struggle against the bourgeoisie and their agents the opportunists, you hammered out for yourselves a mighty labor party which, we are profoundly convinced, will soon drive from its ranks all non-Communist elements and lead the Italian proletariat to the storming of the bourgeoisie.

The Italian workers from the first minutes of the imperialistic war remembered the last will and testament of Karl Liebknecht: "The enemy is in your own country." In combating the Italian capitalists and their government you at the same time fulfill your international duty. Your party has performed immense services in the work of creating the Communist International. Your glorious leader in the person of Comrade Serrati, together with our representatives Lenin, Zinoviev, and Trotsky, ardently took part in the first efforts to re-establish the international organization of workers that had been broken up by the treachery of the leaders of the II International.

The example of the heroic struggle of the Italian workers threw its light upon us in the darkness of the Tsarist reaction and showed us the true path, after the February (March) bourgeois revolution of 1917.

We know that your struggle is not easy. We know that upon assuming authority you, Italian workers, will have to endure dire want and great trials. The path of the proletarian revolution is not an easy one, but it is the only path that leads to the emancipation of labor, to the liberation of all mankind, and to the creation of worthy conditions of living.

The Italian workers are our best friends. The Italian proletariat is our nearest of kin in spirit. We not only respect and cherish the Italian workers—we love them. All the toilers of Petrograd, and, we are sure, those of all Russia, meet your delegates as brothers, and in our welcome we see the assurance that the time is not far off when all Europe will stand as one single international Soviet Republic. With rapt attention and bated breath, we will in future follow your heroic struggle. And we believe—we know, that in Italy decisive events are pushing ahead. In Italy, if not to-day then to-morrow, will burst forth the all-purifying storm.

Long live your victory and ours!

Long live Soviet Italy!

Long live the Red Army in Italy!

Long live the Italian proletariat!

Long live the III International!

G. ZINOVIEV,

*President of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's
and Red Army Deputies.*

21. Letter from the Executive Committee of the Communist International to All Local and District Organizations of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany and to All Workmen Members Thereof.

[Izvestia, June 20, 1920.]

DEAR COMRADES: As you are aware, the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International will open in Moscow on July 15, 1920 (the first meeting will take place in Petrograd). The class-conscious workmen of the whole world have answered promptly our appeal that they send representatives to this Congress. The majority of the delegates from England, France, Austria, Hungary, Italy, America,

Sweden, Bulgaria, Holland, and other countries have already arrived in Russia. Others are on their way to Moscow. Already it is clear that our 2nd Congress will really be a world congress of leading workmen of the whole world. The Congress will summarize the experience of our struggle. The Congress will show you, workmen of the whole world, the path of further struggle. The toilers of the whole world will listen to the voice of the Congress.

Comrades! Is it true that you will remain outside such a Congress?

We say to you frankly that the executive committee of the Communist International and the workmen Communists of all countries will be sorely grieved if members of the German Independent Socialist Party will not be with us at our Congress.

We are certain that you, as proletarians and members of the G. I. S. P., are, in your hearts, with us. We know that you are endeavoring by all possible means to join the international comradeship of workmen, the III International. And it is therefore the less admissible that the "Right" leaders of your central committee should destroy your and our wishes and desire. Under pressure from you, the pressure of workmen, the Leipzig Congress of the G. I. S. P. decided to break with the II International and to enter into negotiations with the III International. But the leaders of the "Right" on your central committee have practically canceled your decision. They decided to call some kind of intermediary conference made up of the parties that left the II but have not as yet joined the III International. Even the moderate leaders of the French Socialist Party have now rejected this hopeless idea. Two delegates from this party, Cachin and Frossard, have already arrived in Moscow, and we shall tell them frankly on what conditions the French party may be admitted to the III International. The French workmen are forcing even their moderate leaders to seek closer relations with the III International. Only your representatives are not yet here in Moscow. We have addressed an open letter to the G. I. S. P. in which we have set forth clearly and in detail the conditions on which we are willing to admit your party, as well as other parties which up to the present time have been following the "Center" movement. Your central committee has not even published this letter from the executive committee of the Communist International, in Germany. The Communists alone have published it. Your central committee in a letter of June 6, signed by Dauemig, says that the letter has not been published on account of a "shortage of paper." Your Right leaders could not have thought of a more unworthy motive. This proves that we were correct when we said that your admission to the III International was possible only by going over the heads of your leaders.

In view of the foregoing we propose, comrades, that your *local and district organizations that desire immediately to join the III International elect their delegates to our Congress, set for July 15, and send them immediately.* Do not wait for some one else. Do not allow anyone to nullify our wish and your desire. Organize at once and fulfill your duty. The workmen-revolutionists, members of the G. I. S. P., must be at the World Congress of the Communist International. We are waiting for you, comrades; hurry. Discuss our

proposal at all your workmen's meetings. Publish it in your papers. Expose all those who thwart your will. Act!

With Communist greetings:

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

G. ZINOVIEV,

*President of the Executive Committee of the
Communist International.*

K. RADEK, *Secretary.*

Members of the executive committee of the Communist International: Seratti, Bombacci, Vachirka, Graziadei, Socialist Party of Italy; V. Ulianov (Lenin), N. Bucharin, Karakhan, Balabanova, Klinger, Russian Communist Party; Markhlevsky (Karsky), Communist and Labor Party of Poland; Shatzkin, executive committee of Communist International of Youth; MacLean, Tom Welch, British Socialist Party; Jacques Sadoul, Delinieres, committee of the III International of France; Rudniansky, Rakoczy, Communist Party of Hungary; Reussler, Communist Party of Germany; Reed, Bilan, Communist Labor Party of America; Stoklitsky, Communist Party of America; Shablin, Communist Party and Federation of Trade Unions of Bulgaria; Stuchka, Communist Party of Latvia. The appeal is also signed by Lozovsky, representing the all-Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions, and by J. Armand, representing the Communist organizations of women in Russia.

22. Message from Congress to French Socialists.

[Izvestia, July 31, 1920.]

The presiding body of the 2nd Congress of the III International has intrusted to the delegates of the French Socialist Party, A. Cachin and Frossard, who came to the Congress to carry on negotiations with reference to the resolution of the last congress of the French Socialist Party, this resolution deciding the establishment simply of certain relations with the III International—a letter addressed to “All members of the French Socialist Party and all conscientious proletarians of France.”

The presiding body has pointed out the reactionary rôle of bourgeois France in the world policy, which rôle has imposed on French workmen and their parties a particularly important international duty, namely, that of resisting this unrestrained reaction. It notes that the internal situation of the French Socialist Party does not to any degree contribute to the successful accomplishment of the latter's great historic mission. The present official majority of the French Socialist Party, which party considers itself internationalist and revolutionary, is in fact carrying on a policy of hesitation, equivocation, and half measures. The parliamentary work of the Socialist faction is not exposing the crimes of the French Government, is not carrying on a revolutionary agitation in the many million masses who participated in the war, and has not set itself the task of exposing to the toiling masses of France the criminal character of the im-

perialist war that has just come to an end. It does not call on the workmen to arm themselves. The Socialist press in France does not carry on a constant systematic propaganda or agitation in favor of the ideas of the proletarian revolution. Agitation in the villages and among the soldiers bears a clearly reformist character. The attitude of the party toward trade-unions is full of equivocation. The party press does not carry on a proper campaign against the unprecedented violence committed by the French bourgeoisie on the "Left" workmen's movement. Instead of drawing closer to the "Left" Communist wing, the party organizes a struggle against the latter. Finally, having declared to leave the II International, the French Socialists at the same time proclaim their solidarity with the Belgian "Socialists," that is, with the Socialist traitor Vandervelde, the leader of the II International; they declare their desire to enter the III International, but at the same time their official representative, Mistral, during the period of the Kapp rebellion, signs a declaration, together with the Bureau of the II International, which appealed to the German proletariat to defend the Republic in co-operation with Noske and Scheidemann. You either remain silent as to the existence of the III International, or you carry on against it a half-concealed propaganda.

Passing then to the question of the attitude toward trade-unions (syndicates) in France, the letter insists on the need of wresting these unions from the hands of capitalists and Socialists-Traitors, and at any cost. *In each union, in each subdivision of a union, a Communist group, a Communist nucleus, must be organized.* After taking power into their own hands, giving to conscious workmen new means of propaganda, the Russian Bolsheviks were able within a short period after *the revolution* to win over an overwhelming majority in the trade-union movement. The Communist revolutions throughout the world should take the same path.

Red trade-unions have begun to organize on an international scale. On the initiative of the executive committee of the Communist International, the "Left" trade-unions of Italy, Russia, and England have created a triple alliance, which will call together in August or September an international congress of Red trade-unions, which congress will set itself up in opposition to the Amsterdam International of Yellow unions.

Support this beginning in France! See to it that your syndicates join the International of Red unions and break once for all with the Yellow International. This is the task of genuine revolutionists in France.

In conclusion, the letter makes certain main and fundamental points, which demand precise and clear answers.

The French Socialist Party must:

(1) Change radically the character of its everyday propaganda and agitation in the press, in the spirit indicated above.

(2) In the question of colonies, pitilessly expose the tricks of French capitalists in colonies, support not in words but by acts any liberating movement in the colonies, popularizing the slogan: "Imperialists, get out of the colonies"; develop in the workmen of France a sincerely fraternal attitude toward the toiling population of the colonies, at the same time carrying on a systematic agitation among French troops against oppression of colonies.

(3) Expose the falsity and hypocrisy of Socialist-Pacifism; systematically prove to the workmen that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international courts of arbitration, no conversations about reducing armaments, will save humanity from new imperialist wars.

(4) Begin to organize the revolutionary Communist elements within the General Confederation of Labor, in order to combat the Socialist-Traitors who are the leaders of this confederation.

(5) Bring about, not in words but by acts the strictest subordination of the parliamentary fraction to the party as a whole; recognize as the party fraction only those deputies who conscientiously carry out the decisions of the party and alter their entire daily parliamentary activity, in the spirit indicated above.

(6) Break radically with reformism, and carry out a systematic cleansing of its ranks of those elements which do not wish to follow the new revolutionary path.

(7) Change also even its name, and come out before the entire world as the Communist Party of France.

(8) Recognize the need of combining legal and illegal activity during the period when the bourgeoisie establishes a state of siege for workmen and their leaders.

(9) The French party, like all those who wish to participate in the III International, must recognize with respect to itself the absolutely obligatory character of all decisions of the Communist International.¹

23. Statement of Cachin and Frossard (French Socialists).

[Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 3, 1920.]

Comrades, being sent to you, together with Comrade Frossard, with a definite purpose and exclusively for mutual information, we are able to make here—as you yourself will understand, comrades—only a short statement, and in our own names.

We have read with great interest the theses presented in the name of the executive committee and of the committee on the conditions of admission to the III International. We conducted on that occasion exhaustive conversations with a large number of responsible comrades. We have just listened to the explanations of Comrade Zinoviev. We were not authorized to discuss the substance of this question. From everything we have heard here, from all sources, we shall retain the main ideas and the guiding principles.

You demand that the parties desiring to join you should first of all renounce in word and deed, in their press and propaganda, the reformist and opportunist ideas. You wish them to point out the inconsistency of those ideas and fight them in all fields, and to employ all their efforts in explaining the necessity of revolutionary action in all its forms.

We fully agree with this, and this absolute demand will have practical results which must be followed up by the parties desiring to join the III Communist International.

¹ NOTE.—In Moscow Pravda of July 30, 1920, the full text of this letter is given (6,000 words) and also the signatures of Zinoviev, Lenin, Serrati, Levi, and Rosmer, and date, July 29, 1920.

First of all, it will be indispensable for every party-comrade to make once for all the choice between reformism and revolution. This is not a question of individuals, and you quite correctly emphasized this fact. But in the historic conditions of our times, whoever attempts to cooperate with bourgeois society at the moment of the decisive class struggle which is ablaze everywhere, there is no place for him in the ranks of a party of the working class.

We are ready to demand from all our comrades that they work as Socialists, within the trade-unions as well as within the party. We are ready to cooperate fraternally with the revolutionary fighters from the syndicalist organizations who acknowledge the indispensability of political struggle.

Further, it is necessary to conduct an energetic propaganda, now more than ever before, against the imperialist ideology and against those who support and cooperate with it.

For over two years our Socialist group in the Parliament has been voting against appropriations and against the entire budget. Our party has come out in a most determined manner against any cooperation in a bourgeois ministry. Such is our position in peace time. And if at any time a world war should again break out, the present criminal imperialistic policy of the French bourgeoisie will bear the full responsibility.

We shall refuse to participate in the war in any form whatever (vote appropriations or cooperate in the ministry). We shall remember that under such circumstances, when the national interests become mingled with the interests of plutocracy, no obligations of the proletariat stand higher than its class duty.

It will be necessary to reexamine the program of our party and to bring it into harmony with the spirit of the III International. An increased centralization, a rigid control of parliamentary activity, of party press, a stern discipline to which every member of the party will have to submit—such seem to us the fundamental conditions for the renewal of the struggle, which conditions are arising because of the harsh demands of our time. You demand that we should support without any reservations the Soviet republics in their struggle against the counter-revolution. With increased energy, greater than in the past, we shall point out to toilers the necessity of refusing to load arms and munitions for the counter-revolutionists. Among the soldiers who shall be commissioned to fight against Soviet republics we shall conduct with all means a propaganda against intervention.

Comrades, this is in substance the statement which we are able to make in conformity with the narrow limits of our mission. We are convinced that if our friend Longuet could be present here, he would not think otherwise, he would not arrive at a different conclusion after surveying the question as we have. We shall return to France, where we shall report your conditions; we shall loyally present them to the party, as well as the literature of the III International. Simultaneously we shall commence an active campaign on the question of the condition of the Russian revolution.

Within a few weeks there will assemble a Congress, and after that, after all the sections and the parties have been informed about the situation and have discussed it seriously, Frossard and myself will come out for adherence to the III International. Until then it will be useless to make repeated promises. Breaking with the past, we

Intend to pass to the active struggle, about which the III International subsequently will be able to judge.

CACHIN and FROSSARD.

24. The Third All-Russian Congress of Chinese Workmen.

[Izvestia, June 22, 1920.]

The Third All-Russian Congress of Chinese workmen living in Russia and Turkestan was opened on the 18th of June. About 60 delegates assembled for the Congress, representing about 100,000 organized Chinese workmen. Comrade Lau was elected president of the Congress, and Comrade Sun-Yan-Chuan, editor of the paper "Da-Tun-Gbao," secretary. Comrades Lenin and Sun-Yat-Sen were elected honorary presidents.

Comrade Lau welcomes the Korean revolutionists who are present at the Congress and translated into Russian the reply of the member of the Korean Revolutionary Government, Comrade Han-Hen-Kuon.

Following this, Comrade Voznesensky, Director of the Eastern Department of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, made a speech of welcome in Chinese.

Comrade Bukharin then spoke in the name of the III Communist International. His speech was translated into Chinese by Comrade Lau.

"Till the present time," says Comrade Bukharin, "there has not existed a single organization which was not divided into two parts—a 'civilized' portion, which could rob, murder, and oppress, for which it was praised everywhere, and another portion, a 'lower race,' 'cattle,' which could be robbed with impunity. It is well known that the European countries robbed, murdered, and oppressed the peoples of their colonies, and they called this 'the holy attainment of the aims of European civilization.' Our teacher Marx said long ago: 'Together with the cross and the gospel, Europeans bring syphilis, alcohol, and gunpowder.' The whole European colonial policy is supported by millions of dead bodies of natives, and the wealth of many European countries is based entirely upon the robbing of colonial possessions. The 'civilized' countries attached themselves like leeches and drank the blood of millions of slaves.

"But now the labor masses have revolted, have established their own organization—the III International—and are fighting not only with resolutions but with weapons in their hands—and blood. We call upon you to do the same.

"But European capital is not the only cause of happenings in Asia. There also exists in Asia a capitalistic class which oppresses greatly their own proletarians; Japan is a living example.

"Thus the Asiatic proletariat is under a double yoke of capitalism, and undoubtedly this threatens terrible oppression to the Chinese people. We have therefore appealed to you to organize the Chinese labor forces in China itself. We shall fight capitalism in its centers—in Paris, London, and other places; and you will help us by overthrowing it in Asia. You will be able to do this if you mobilize the broad masses of the population and give them definite aims.

"There can be here two watchwords: First, 'The fight against European capitalism,' which is clear to everyone. The Chinese labor masses with difficulty earn enough to live from their small plots of land and pay enormous rents to the estate owners. The second watchword therefore is, 'Throw out the estate owners.' *The aim, consequently, is an agrarian revolution.* You will be able to accomplish the rising of the masses through this war cry, as the slogan 'Seize the land from the estate owners' is clear to everyone.

"If you mobilize your forces nothing can resist you. You do not know yourselves what a great force you are. China is equal to one-third of the territory of the world, and it is clear that in order to pacify even a tenth part of the Chinese proletariat no quantity of British machine guns and French tanks would be sufficient. If the forces of the Asiatic proletarians will unite with the European proletarians, no one can defeat us, and we shall be able to construct a new life based upon equality for all races without difference of color of skin, hair, etc. This task will cost streams of blood, but we shall solve it and liberate all Asia and the entire world.

"Long live the union of the proletarians of the whole world! Long live the general attack on capitalism! Long live the fighting staff of the revolution—the III International!"

25. "The Revolutionary East and the Immediate Problems of the Communist International."

By PAK DINSHUN.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 27, 1920.]

The I and II Internationals were in fact merely associations of the masses of Europe and America; they devoted little attention to "the eastern question," and in general to "the questions of colonial peoples." The majority of the official leaders of the II International tried in every way to keep the "colonial questions" in the background and to fence off the western European labor movement from the revolutionary struggle of the enslaved peoples of the colonies; they were afraid to bring up these questions squarely and openly.

Whenever they came to the "eastern problem" the official leaders of the II International trembled, not less than the bourgeois politicians, who constantly and hypocritically repeated their inclinations toward "democracy," civilization, and culture. The complex questions of the revolutionary struggle of enslaved colonial peoples, constituting the majority of enslaved mankind, were foreign to the ideologists of parliamentarism. Even at the time of organizing the Communist International, Asia was feebly represented, a fact which could not fail to be reflected in the work on eastern matters.

But the realization of the necessity of conjoint struggle of the toiling masses of the East and the West became stronger and stronger. The great victorious October revolution in Russia first bridged over the chasm between the proletariat of the West and the revolutionary East; Soviet Russia became the connecting link between the two formerly separated worlds. The necessity of conjoint proletarian struggle in the East and West has never before been felt so keenly as

at the present moment, when the ruling classes have turned the blossoming fields into a bare wilderness and peaceful villages and cities into ruins; when the working class had resolved to raise the flag of implacable, revolutionary struggle for the power of the toiling masses, and for a new, free life for all mankind.

At the present moment, when the spirit of social revolution hovers over all the earth and when the bourgeoisie is straining all its forces in order for a short time to stave off the hour of its perdition, the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International should give serious attention to the East, where the fate of the world revolution may be decided. For whoever shall know how to go to the enslaved peoples of the East and make comrades of them will, in union with them, come victorious out of this last war of labor with capital.

A favorable basis for revolution was created in Asia by the sharp economic crisis inevitably associated with the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the barbarous colonial policies of the great imperialistic powers. These policies developed clear-cut nationalist tendencies in the East. Admitting that the first stage of the revolution in the East will be the victory of the liberal bourgeoisie and the nationalistic Intelligentsia, we should nevertheless now prepare our forces for the next stage, drawing from the depths of the peasant masses enslaved by the feudal régime organized forces for an agrarian-social revolution in Asia as soon as possible. The industrial proletariat, if Japan is not taken into consideration, is too weak in Asia for us to cherish serious hopes of an early Communist revolution; but there is no doubt of the success of an agrarian revolution if we are able to grasp the immediate problems of the great bloody struggle.

The Russian proletariat, standing as the vanguard of the world social revolution, could withstand a desperate three-year onslaught of the bourgeoisie of the whole world, only because it knew how to attract the poorest and middle classes of peasantry to its side. The vanguard of the European and American proletariat, uniting around the Communist International, must fight shoulder to shoulder along with the many-millioned masses of the revolutionary East, if it wishes to gain a quick and complete victory over the capitalistic class. The impossibility of this victory without the cooperation of "colonial" peoples is so clear that further proof is needless. The history of the II International, that perished ingloriously, showed that so long as the bourgeoisie of the world has a reservoir of power in colonies in general and in Asia in particular, it can resist the most desperate attacks of the insurgent proletariat.

The Communist International, guiding the awakening East in the true path of revolution, will radically put an end to the opportunism and indecision of the proletariat of western countries. But activities must be harmonized in such a manner that the European proletariat may hit its bourgeoisie a blow on the head at the very moment when the revolutionary East delivers a mortal thrust at the heart of capital. The victorious insurrection of the "colonial" people will sign the death warrant of all "indecision" and petty bourgeois trades-unionism. The rapid accomplishment of this task will hasten the day of triumph of the Communist International on a world-wide scale.

It is now asked what forces are propelling the revolution in the East? The majority of the former nobility, liberal bourgeoisie, and petty bourgeois Intelligentsia, who are the intelligent strength of the revolution in Asia, through the experience of long years of struggle with their foreign enslavers, and after painful internal struggle of ideas, have learned that the regeneration of the East is impossible without the domination of the broad masses of workers.

The bankruptcy of the II International promoted the rapid development of revolutionary ideas in the East, removing every hope of the free existence of the native people without the triumph of the social revolution in Europe, Asia, and other countries.

Two opposing paths are open to the nationalists of Asia: One leads to personal felicity, based upon the loyal sufferings and the gradual debasement of wide masses, while the second leads to social revolution, which will deprive them of material privileges to a certain extent but will bring freedom to the native people.

To our great joy, the majority of the nationalists with ideas have proved to be on the side of the revolution.

Of course, there are elements among the revolutionists themselves who will join us Internationalists only for the purpose of national-political liberation. We shall utilize their revolutionary spirit in combating world capital and for the triumph of the social revolution in the whole world; but if the revolution demands it afterwards, we will know how to turn the weapons against the "allies" of yesterday, and the victory undoubtedly will be ours, as the native masses of the East, just liberated from foreign political and economic bondage, will hardly be reconciled to the strong-hand tactics of new masters.

Such a policy—the policy of supporting the national movements in the colonies—is not capable of being carried out by those alleged Socialist governments which fear a "revolt of sentiments of patriotism" in the toiling masses, which have little class consciousness in those countries where the ruling classes pursue a barbarous colonial policy. But the Communist International has no reason to fear this "revolt," for the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat, the ranks of which are growing every hour, fully appreciates its activities and completely approves its far-sighted tactics.

So, although we are fighting together with the above-named elements, we can not regard them as comrades with whom we might go to the end without danger. Without tiring for a minute, we must explain to the wide masses of toilers of the East that national-political enfranchisement alone will not give them that for which they are fighting, and that *only social liberation can give them the full guaranty of freedom.*

The triumph of the first stage of the revolution in Asia will coincide with the triumph of the social revolution in the West. Proletarian Europe can not be a passive spectator of the sufferings of the vast toiling masses of the East, groaning under the yoke of bourgeois democracy. The European proletariat, filled with the sentiment of international solidarity, will go to their assistance.

Of course, we may predict beforehand that a terrible fight will be started in the bourgeois camp. But the western comrades, you may be sure, will find a cordial, fraternal reception among the proletariat and toiling peasantry of Asia, for the East was always op-

posed to that foreign intervention which brought chains and slavery with it. The intervention of the Socialistic proletarian West will be a great and even necessary aid to the toiling masses of Asia in their struggle against all exploitation. The proletarian East is thirsting for such "intervention."

In the 2nd Congress, which must give the revolutionary proletariat a definite guiding plan for successfully combating world imperialism, of course, we will not forget the great role of the revolutionary East in the international labor movement.

And thus the toiling masses of the East, with the help of European and American comrades, conquering their foreign and native enslavers, will transform Asia—a country of religious attainments—into a Communistic oasis of revolutionary attainments.

PAK DINSHUN.

26. Greeting to the III International from the Korean National Committee in Petrograd.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 25, 1920.]

The Korean people have long suffered the heavy foreign yoke that was supported by imperialism. At times the bright hopes of its freedom seemed about to be realized; but then foreigners came and brought with them the heavy yoke of imperialism. Then the best representatives of the Korean people elected a committee which decided to spare no effort to secure the liberation of the country. Suffering under the hated yoke of Japan and of all imperialist countries, the Korean people, the conscious element of which we represent as a national committee, welcome heartily on this historic day the Congress of the III International, which is the guaranty of peaceful work for the welfare of the toilers of all countries and people.

Long live the III International! Long years to the leaders of the world proletarian revolution, Representatives Lenin, Trotsky, and Zinoviev!

27. "The Communist International to the Enslaved Peoples of Persia, Armenia, and Turkey."

[Izvestia, July 3, 1920.]

The Executive Committee of the Communist International calls together for the 15th of August, 1920, *in Baku a congress of the workmen and peasants of Persia, Armenia, and Turkey.*

What is the Communist International? It is the organization of the revolutionary labor masses of Russia, Poland, Germany, France, England, and America, awakened by the thunder of the World War and threatened by hunger, who have revolted in order not to work for the rich, but for themselves, and not to fight against their own suffering and poverty-stricken brothers and in order to use them for their own defense against the exploiters. These working masses have understood that their strength lies in the union of forces and in organization, that this is the only guaranty for their success, and thus

last year a strong organization was established—the III International. The latter in spite of all persecutions by the capitalistic governments became within a year the soul of all the revolutionary labor masses and peasants of the whole world, who strive for freedom.

Why does this Communist International call together at this particular time a congress of the Persian, Armenian, and Turkish workmen and peasants? What does it offer them? The workmen and peasants of Europe and America who are struggling against capitalism, apply to you because you are suffering in a similar manner under the yoke of world capitalism, and because you, too, are forced to fight the world exploiters, because your joining the workmen and peasants of Europe and America will accelerate the end of the world capitalism and guarantee the liberation of all workmen and peasants throughout the world.

Peasants and workmen of Persia! The Teheran Kajar Government and its servants—the provincial Khans—have plundered and exploited you for centuries. Your land was seized by the lackeys of the Teheran Government; they are exploiting this land; they are imposing taxes on you at their discretion; and after having brought the country to poverty and ruin *they sold it last year to the British capitalists for two million pounds sterling*, so that the latter could form in Persia an army which will still more oppress you and impose on you still heavier taxes and duties for the Khans and the Teheran Government. Supporting the plundering of your country, they have sold to England the rich south Persian oil wells.

Peasants of Mesopotamia! The British have declared your country independent, but 80,000 British troops are on your territory plundering and killing you and violating your wives.

Peasants of Anatolia! The British, Italian, and French Governments have kept Constantinople under the fire of their guns; they have imprisoned the Sultan, have forced him to agree to the division of real Turkish territories, and have given over the Turkish finances to foreign financiers in order to facilitate the plundering of Turkish people impoverished by six years of war. They have occupied the coal mines of Heracles and your ports; they are sending troops to your country, destroying your pastures, dictating laws strange to the peaceful Turkish peasant, trying to make of you their beasts of burden to carry every weight. A part of your Beys and Effendies have sold themselves to the foreign capitalists; another part call you to arms against the foreign invasion, not allowing you, however, to take the power in your hands, because they want to use the pastures and lands given by the Sultan to various parasites, cultivating them for their own needs. And to-morrow, when the foreign capitalists come to an agreement with your oppressors over easier peace conditions, your present leaders will use this in order to impose on you new chains, as has been done by the estate owners and former officials in countries safely occupied by foreign troops.

Peasants and workmen of Armenia! For many years you have been the victims of foreign capitalists, who talked much about the massacres of Armenians by the Kurds, who called you to fight the Sultan, and who used you in various other ways for the benefit of their own fight against the Sultan. During the war they not only promised you independence, but they also induced your teachers, merchants, and

priests to demand for themselves the land which belonged to the Turkish peasants, in order to stir up a death struggle between the Turkish and Armenian peoples, from which they would derive the profit, because *as long as this fight between you continues foreign capitalists will extract profits out of you, threatening Turkey with an Armenian riot and the Armenians with Kurd pogroms.*

Peasants of Syria and Arabia! The British and French have promised you independence, but now their troops have occupied your country, dictating laws. After liberation from the Turkish yoke you have now become the slaves of the Paris and London Governments, the whole difference being that the latter will keep a stronger hand on you and will plunder you better.

You yourselves understand this very well. The Persian peasants and workmen have revolted against their treacherous Teheran Government. The peasants of Mesopotamia are rioting against the British army of occupation, and the British press reports the losses of the British Army in their fight with the revolutionists near Bagdad.

Peasants of Anatolia! You are called to join the ranks of Kemal-Pasha, in order to fight the foreign invasion, but at the same time we know that you are trying to form your own national party, your own peasants' party, which would be able to continue the fight in case the Pashas should conclude peace with the Entente robbers.

In Syria troubles do not cease, and you Armenian peasants, whom the Entente, in spite of all their promises, are killing by hunger in order the better to keep you in their grasp—you understand more and more that the hopes for salvation through the capitalists of the Entente are quite absurd. Even your bourgeois government of the Dashnakist Party, of these lackeys of the Entente, is forced to apply to the workmen's and peasants' government of Russia asking for peace and help. Now, we see that you begin to understand your own needs, and we therefore turn to you as representatives of the European proletariat, using our great experience in order to help you in your struggle for liberation. We tell you: *The time when European and American capitalists were able to oppress you by the force of their arms has passed once and forever. Everywhere in Europe and America the workmen are revolting with arms in their hands against the capitalists and are carrying on a bloody struggle with them.*

If we to date are still unable to defeat world capitalism, nevertheless the capitalists are no longer able to dispose of their peoples' blood according to their wish. For two and a half years the Russian revolution has been fighting the whole world. French, British, and American capitalists have tried by all means to defeat the Russian workman and peasant and to make them their slaves. They did not succeed. *The Russian workmen and peasants have defended their power bravely, have formed their own army, and have defeated completely all reactionary armies supported by the Entente capitalists.*

Workmen and peasants of the Near East! If you organize yourselves, if you form your workmen's and peasants' power, if you take up arms and unite with the Russian workmen's and peasants' army, you will defeat the British, French, and American capitalists, you will liberate yourselves from your oppressors, you will secure freedom, you will be able to form a free world's republic of working masses, and you will use the riches of your own land in your own

interests and the interests of the world's proletariat, which will be glad to exchange your riches against their products and will be glad to send you their help. About all these questions we want to talk with you at this Congress.

The executive committee of the Communist International, representing the British, French, American, German, and Italian workmen, will come to you to Baku, to discuss together with you the question of how the forces of the European proletariat can be united with yours for the fight against the common enemy.

Do not spare any efforts to try and arrive in Baku in great numbers on the 1st of September. You formerly went through deserts to the holy places; you now go over mountains, through forests, deserts, and rivers in order to meet us, and to discuss how to free yourselves from the chains of slavery, form a brotherly union, and start a new free, equal, and brotherly life.

We turn first of all to the workmen and peasants of the Near East, but we shall be glad to see amongst them also delegates of the enslaved masses living farther from us—the representatives of India, as also the representatives of the Mahomedan peoples, living in free union with Soviet Russia.

On September 2 there should peacefully assemble in Baku for liberation of the Near East thousands of Turkish, Armenian, and Persian workmen and peasants.

Let the Congress say to your enemies in Europe, America, and in our country that the times of slavery have passed, that you are rising, and that you will win.

Let this Congress say to the workmen of the whole world that you are defending your rights and are joining the great revolutionary army, which is now fighting against all injustice and robbery.

Let your Congress give strength and hope to millions and millions of enslaved throughout the world; let it give them confidence in their own forces and hasten the day of their final victory and liberation.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International:

ZINOVIEV, *President.*

K. RADEK, *Secretary.*

For the British Socialist Party: W. McLEAN, TOM WELCH.

For the Factory Committees of England: JACK TURNER, G. T. MURPHY.

For the French delegation to the Communist International Congress: A. ROSMER, J. DELINIERES, J. SADOUL.

For the Italian delegation to the Communist International Congress: BOMBACCI, A. GRAZIADEI.

For the Communist Party of America: L. FRAINA, A. STOKLITSKY.

For the Communist Labor Party of America: A. BILAN.

For the Spanish Labor Federation: ANGEL PESTANA.

For the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party: N. BUKHARIN, V. VOROVSKY, A. BALABANOVA, G. KLINGER.

For the V. T. S. P. S. (All-Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions): A. LOZOVSKY.

For the Communist Party of Poland: J. MARKHLEVSKY (KARSKY).

For the Communist Party of Bulgaria and the Communist Labor Federation: N. SHABLIN.

For the Communist Party of Austria: REUSSLER.

For the Communist Party of Hungary: RAKOCZY, RUDNIANSKY.

For the Communist Party of Holland: D. WYNKOOP.

VII.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND AMERICA.

28. "The American Communist Party," by Alexander Stoklitsky.

[Izvestia, July 4, 1920.]

The Communist Party of America was organized in the city of Chicago in the first days of September, 1919. It was formed from the major portion of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party. There were present 125 delegates at the constituent congress of the Communist Party, representing more than 50,000 workmen. The new party adopted the tactics and principles of the Communist International as the basis of its program. The formation of the Communist Party was preceded by a lengthy struggle within the ranks of the old, official, single Socialist Party—the struggle between the Left Communist Wing and the opportunists of the Right, which unavoidably had to lead to complete rupture. Indeed, in May, 1919, the executive committee of the Socialist Party excluded more than 40,000 members because of their action in protest against the participation of the party in the congress of the Yellow International at Berne. The members of this group, while they still remained in the Socialist Party, in the process of internal struggle worked out and formulated the fundamental positions of the militant tactics of the Communists under the conditions of American actualities.

The Communist Party of America was constructed on the principles of democratic centralism. All the organs of the press (the majority of which at the present moment are published underground) are under the immediate control of the directive bodies of the party. All local organizational procedures are coordinated with the central organization. Increased and unremitting attention is given to the observance of party discipline.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Communist Party has existed less than one year, it already occupies an important place in the revolutionary movement of the country. That is shown by the increased persecution by the bourgeois authorities, not only of active workers, but also of the rank and file of its members, an uninterrupted stream of lies and insinuations on the pages of the yellow press, and, most important of all, the evergrowing interest and sympathy of the laboring classes.

The Communist Party during the very first days of its existence noted the growth of reaction and made all necessary preparations for illegal work. On November 7, 1919, the anniversary of the October revolution, the party organized more than 100 meetings in the country under the watchwords of "Hands off Soviet Russia! Down with the Blockade!" The meetings were a great success. As an answer to them, during the night of November 8 the Government made mass

raids throughout the country and arrested more than 2,000 active revolutionists, among whom the members of the Communist Party were predominant. At the same time the party was declared to be outside the law. But that did not break up our organization; we immediately and in good time put in motion the apparatus of underground work at the center as well as in local organizations. The ensuing heavy blows of reaction only hardened with still greater energy our workers who were continuing the work of spreading and deepening the ideas of Communism.

For the purpose of augmenting the success of propaganda, the center of gravity of party work was shifted to the plants, mills, and mines. For that purpose, agents of agitation were appointed wherever there were members of the party. They were guides in Communist watchwords and ideas. It was these, in spite of repression, who distributed immense numbers of Communist newspapers and journals, as well as leaflets, issued periodically by the central committee of the party on questions of the struggle for the cause of labor.

In the field of the trade-union movement, the party fought both within the American Federation of Labor (where that was found to be possible), as well as outside of it, against the reactionary ideas of narrow trade-unionism, for the creation of new revolutionary forms of trade-unions, foreign to the spirit of the trade-corporation aristocracy, and for trade-unions carrying on the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. For the purpose of disseminating these ideas the party organizes, wherever possible, mill and factory committees after the manner of the English "shop-stewards," uniting their activities into Soviets of factory deputies according to territory as well as production. The same tactics were also pursued by the party in relation to the so-called independent trade-unions and branches of workers not organized into unions. In the matter of revolutionizing the trade-union movement those of the "Industrial Workers of the World" (I. W. W.), who strive for the dictatorship of the proletariat, were co-workers. But we sharply differed with them in their appraisal of the rôle of the Communist Party and of trade-unions in the political struggle.

The Communist Party of America, recognizing the fact that the economic struggle of the proletariat is inseparable from the political struggle, obligates all local organizations to take the most active part in economic strikes in order to make plain to the masses their political meaning and significance.

The party regards the parliamentary struggle as only one of the means of propaganda of the ideas of Communism, as well as a tribune for agitation in favor of the seizure of authority. It is evident that the Communist Party, being illegal, is unable to utilize this instrument of agitation, which from its point of view is of secondary importance.

At the present time the party is not in a position to increase its publishing activities to the full extent, as the expenses of support and for the defense of arrested comrades have exhausted its treasury; at the same time the illegal setting up of work involves increased expenditures.

(Signed)

ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY.

29. "America at the Turning Point."

By J. JURGIS.

[Petrograd Pravda, July 18, 1929.]

Official America, which took part in the World War allegedly for "democratic ideals," during the war itself lost even those shreds of "democratism" of which it had until then boasted. Official America, which proclaimed the slogan, "Down with Prussian militarism and imperialism—America goes to save democracy," now has become the most autocratic oligarchy of financial capital that has ever existed. It could not, in fact, be otherwise. The sole aim of American capital was to grow rich at the expense of other countries and become the financial ruler of the whole world. From the beginning of the war it was neutral, because it seemed to think it more profitable to serve both belligerent sides. But the absolute blockade of Germany instituted by England soon turned American capital into an ally of the Entente. In a constant stream gold poured into the pockets of American financiers, industrials, and traders. The financial center of the entire world passed from London to New York. When the submarine campaign of Germany began to interfere with trade relations, and even threatened to secure victory, American capital immediately ceased to be neutral and entered the war in alliance with the Entente.

The intellectual and political leaders of American capital, in the sweat of their brow, tried to cover this purely material deal with the fig leaf of "democratic ideals." They organized an eloquent propaganda among the working class of America, promising all the blessings of heaven on earth to the workmen after the victory over Germany.

And, it is sad to relate, the overwhelming majority of American workmen-comrades believed all this. With the declaration of war there started a period of unprecedented work, day and night; there was a shortage of labor and they worked overtime to exhaustion. Unlimited piecework developed and special premiums were given for zeal.

With the armistice (Nov. 11, 1918) all this changed immediately. Without war orders everything quieted down and the workmen of America found themselves in a much worse situation than before the war. All necessary products had increased in price two-fold or threefold during the war, and the insignificant increase in wages fell far behind the increased prices on objects of prime necessity.

Further, the factories producing exclusively war orders were closed down. Others limited production, throwing on the street tens of thousands of workmen. Then followed the demobilization of 3,000,000 soldiers, and there appeared in America again an army of unemployed. The capitalists wished to use this army of unemployed for themselves and began a campaign under the device, "Reorganization of industry on the basis that existed before the war"; and this meant reduction of wages and the increase in the exploitation of workmen under the threat of being thrown out on the street into the army of unemployed to freeze and starve.

The working class of America only now has discovered that it was deceived. Discontent increases every day. In spite of the attempts of the reactionary leaders of the old trade-unions to stop the movement, a whole series of grandiose strikes was brought about. The strike wave spread over all America and has not yet quieted down.

To all these workmen's movements the capitalists of America answered with cruel repression. In the struggle against the agitated workmen the American politicians without hesitation repealed all the civil rights of which the Americans had been so proud. There is no longer freedom of speech, of press, or of meeting. The capitalists are wide-awake, and know that this movement, although of purely economic strikes, is in fact the beginning of a class war in America. They have put down the workmen by repressions and are organizing energetically to combat the workmen in the future. Various reactionary "citizens' organizations," composed of the most reactionary elements of capitalist society, everywhere spring up in America, organized against the workmen, and particularly against the Communists and members of the trade-union, the "Industrial Workers of the World." The demobilized soldiers (who for the most part did not see the battle front), under the direction of former officers (sons of various bankers and rich men), have organized themselves into "the American Legion" for the purpose of protecting "the Constitution and free institutions of America." This last is accomplished by riotous attacks on the headquarters of Communists and trade-unions and the beating up of active workmen.

Under extremely difficult conditions the Communists in America have had to reorganize themselves from half-legal and open organizations into absolutely underground organizations. Persecution and hounding on all sides! Many have been sentenced to 5, 10, and 20 years of penal servitude; particularly many former emigrant-comrades of Russian nationalities have been arrested. In a single night of January 2-3, 1920, about 4,000 comrades were arrested, former emigrants, who were subjected by the immigration authorities to cross-examination and deportation from America (the majority of these have now been freed under bonds and are under political surveillance, while a number are still in prison awaiting "American justice").

In spite of these difficulties the reorganization of the Communist Labor Party has been successfully completed, and the work of propaganda and agitation is being successfully conducted with great zeal. Having recently united with the majority of the members of the Communist Party (which had broken off), the Communist Labor Party is the largest and strongest Communist organization in America.

Through its delegates to the 2nd Congress of the Communist International this party sends fraternal greetings to the proletariat of Soviet Russia and welcomes it and congratulates it on the heroic fighters in the ranks of the Red army.

America once more has shown that only through a struggle with arms in the hand will the world proletariat free itself from the yoke of capitalism and from all those parasites which have attached themselves to the body of the proletariat.

May the 2nd Congress of the III International unite more closely the Communists of the whole world. May the 2nd Congress of the

III International become the General Staff of the world social revolution.

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live the fighters for freedom, the Red army!

Long live the III Communist International!

Long live the world social revolution!

J. JURGIS,

*Delegate to the 2nd Congress of the III International
from the Communist Labor Party of America.*

P. S.—Being here in Petrograd now for seven days, and talking with workmen, several times I have had to hear: "You workmen in America live very well. I myself would like to go there."

Do not go in a hurry, comrades. At the present moment a whole million of former Russians would like to come back to Russia; of every 100 Russian workmen in America, 99 wish to return to Russia; but at the present moment no one is allowed to go to Soviet Russia. In mass meetings they adopt unanimously the resolution: "Give us passports and open the frontier." In private conversation many Russians constantly say: "When will they open the frontier? When will it be possible to go back?"

And they know that you froze last winter and that you went hungry many times and that in the large cities people are half starved; they know that the railroad breakdown prevents transportation, that the blockade interferes, that every effort is being made to support the heroic red army; but, nevertheless they wish to go back, nevertheless they wish to get away from all those American luxuries.

I am one of them. I lived with them, I worked with them, so I know them.

J. JURGIS.

30. "Hypocrisy or Inadvertence," by Alexander Stoklitsky.

[Izvestia, July 18, 1920.]

The Socialist Party of America has made application to the Communist International that the party be accepted as a member of the International. It is only a year since the executive committee of that party expelled 40,000 of their members who had "ventured" to demand that the party break with the Yellow II International and join the Communist International. The leaders of the party, Hillquit and Berger, who were responsible for the expulsion of the prodigal sons, were not able to hold the party in the II International.

The party then melted away rapidly. Almost all of the revolutionary elements deserted it. In 1912 its members totaled over 113,000, while in September, 1919 (the date of the organization of the two communist parties in America), its membership was not more than 30,000. During December, 1919, this figure was reduced by a third. This marked decrease in membership was due to the expulsion, with the assistance of the police, at the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Party at Chicago, of a part of the "left" comrades who, following a conference of the left wing of the party, in June of that

year, decided to remain within the party in the naïve confidence that they would be able to obtain control of the machinery of the party.

But here the "leaders" (word illegible). They have found that if they continue their policy the party will soon consist of only the executive committee and these leaders, under the pressure of the opposition, have declared officially that they are ready to break with the II International. As, however, the Communist International was not pleasing to the leaders, Messrs. Hillquit & Co. proposed that a new international be founded, uniting all parties that had left the II International but had not joined the Communist International.

In this scheme the leaders were not successful. By a referendum the majority of the party recorded its desire to join the III International, and the executive committee could accordingly do nothing else than unwillingly knock at the doors of the III International.

The last congress in New York, however, established the fact that the opportunistic Socialist Party of America is incurably ill. A new project was proposed by a Left Minority, whose leader, Louis Engdahl, the editor of the Chicago Socialist, has always been hesitating and indecisive.

Engdahl, in his project, summed up the attitude of the party on the question as follows: "In order to facilitate the destruction of the capitalistic régime, the whole power during the period of the struggle with the old régime must be concentrated in the hands of the proletariat." This created a storm, and upon the matter being put to a vote the watchword "dictatorship of the proletariat" was voted down by a majority of 113 votes to 33. Helpless, indeed, were the appeals of the naïve Engdahl and his followers to the revolutionary sentiments of the members of the Congress; their references to the "Communist manifesto" of Marx and Engels remained unheard. The position of Hillquit was as follows: "The war is over. We must drop all phrases and apply sound common sense to the situation. The time for constructive work has come. We can not convince the laborers with Marxistic phrases; these can only be used in classical works. These theories are wrong and are only to be used if you wish to destroy everything which is now in existence and to build everything anew."

Still more characteristic of the party that now has the impudence to aspire to a place in the III International are the words of its second leader, the not unknown Victor Berger.

"I do not believe in dictatorship," says this man, who also desires to slip into the III International, "the dictatorship of Palmer, Burleson, and Wilson are enough for me. I do not believe at all in the dictatorship of the mob. This dictatorship has brought me 20 years of penal servitude and has resulted in my removal from Congress. I am for democracy." (There was a misunderstanding with respect to Berger. Under the "espionage act" this absolutely loyal citizen was condemned in January, 1919, to 20 years of penal servitude and was excluded from Congress. One did not recognize one's own kin! These citations have been taken from the official organ of the American Communist Party, the New York Call, No. 133, of May 12 of this year.) **Socialist**

The overwhelming majority of the Congress enthusiastically applauded Hillquit and Berger.

Why does the American Socialist Party, which has discredited itself before the revolutionary proletariat of the entire world, endeavor to enter the Communist International? Either it is due to inadvertence or else the party is endeavoring to save its lost reputation.

Presumably the latter is true. But no matter which it is, there is no place in the International of revolutionary action for this petty-bourgeois party.

31. "The 2nd Congress."

By JOHN REED, BILAN, and JURGIS.

[In *English*, *Krasnaya Gazeta*, July 19, 1920.]

From the American Communist Labor Party:

The American workers organized in ranks of the American Communist Labor Party send their greetings to the heroic and self-sacrificing proletarians of Soviet Russia. The dying and disintegrating ruling class the world over has again and again attempted to overwhelm you by direct and indirect attacks, by counter-revolutionary uprisings, and invasions.

But you have triumphed over them all. The darker the night the brighter the stars, so in the present world of dark reaction, like a lighthouse to the storm-tossed mariners, the deeds of the Russian proletariat show the way to the oppressed of the world.

All power to the Soviets! To Communism through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!

Present conditions in America prove once more that there is not and can not be such a thing as "democracy" in a class-ruled society. It is and can be only one of the two: The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat—the iron rule of a handful of multimillionaires, or the iron rule of the millions of the working class.

"Free" America, the America of "democratic traditions," is no more. As long as the ruling class of America could exploit the workers by lulling them to sleep with nice phrases about "freedom," "democracy," and "equality," America possessed the much-boasted bourgeois democracy, with its freedom of speech, press, and assembly. The World War enriched the American capitalist and enabled the American imperialists to get a strangle hold on the capitalist world.

The conditions of working existence did not improve in proportion to the fabulous enrichment of the capitalists. On the contrary, the living conditions of the workers became worse. The cost of living has increased by leaps and bounds, employment has become more and more uncertain, and the slight rise in wages does not counter-balance the all-around rising prices of the necessities of life. Even the most backward and dull-witted American worker sees that something is wrong, and dissatisfaction is universal.

The epidemic of purely economic strikes that broke out immediately after the armistice was met with ruthless suppression by the Government and the hirelings of the capitalist class. As for the

class-conscious workers, who challenged the right of the capitalist class to rule, the mouthpiece of American financial capital coined a phrase: "S. O. S."—ship or shoot! Deport them, ship them to Europe if they are immigrants, and shoot them if they are Americans! No one but "100 per cent Americans" are to be tolerated, and a "100 per center" is a man who is "proud of the capitalist system of America." (Metropolitan Magazine.)

All freedom of speech, press, and assembly has been done away with; all revolutionary organizations have been driven underground, and active revolutionary propagandists and agitators, when caught, are sentenced to 10, 20, and 25 years in prison. With the creation in America of a real revolutionary working-class movement, the so-called bourgeois democracy, with all its freedom, has disappeared forever and the dictatorship of the capitalist class now rules supreme—a dictatorship which will defend the exploitation of the masses by a handful of parasites, with all means and at all costs.

The class-conscious workers of America more and more turn toward you, fellow workers of Soviet Russia. Your example is to them a lesson in the revolutionary struggle, for which American bourgeois democracy and the working class of America are both organizing and preparing. The revolutionary American workers expect from the 2nd Congress of the Communist International a confirmation of Communist principles, clarified by the experiences of the past year. They expect the announcement of a coordinated clearly defined general policy which shall guide the actions of every party affiliated to the Communist International, and a clear answer to the most pressing tactical questions.

They expect that the 2nd Congress of the Communist International will establish the general staff of the world revolution.

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!

Long live the III International!

JOHN REED,
A. BILAN,
J. JURGIS,

Delegates of the Communist Labor Party of America.

32. "Long Live the Solid Battle Front."

By A. STOKLITSKY.

[Moscow Pravda, July 20, 1920.]

Alarming rumblings—subterranean pumps. And suddenly an explosion! The sleeping forces awoke in the volcano of Russia, the tongues of flame mounted to the sky, the glowing lava poured over the face of the earth. It was not within human power to stop the fiery stream; another hour and all the Old World will change into a burning sea!

Even the ocean can not stay the flames of the world revolution. The sparks flying over to America will accomplish their purpose. Infuriated capital in America will not stamp them out with its iron

heel. Thousands of fearless fighters languish in prisons. But the heroic struggle of the Russian proletariat has fired the hearts of the workmen of America and awakened their militant spirit. The hour is already near when the workman of America will break his chains in open battle.

It is hardly a year since the founding of the Communist International. But there is now no country where its militant watchwords have not penetrated. There is no country in which the workmen have not bestirred themselves in response to the militant call. Inspired by a profound faith in the triumph of Communism, the proletarians of the whole world are forming themselves into shock troops. The measured tread of their close-joined ranks is already heard everywhere. In all places and in all tongues of the world resounds the mighty hymn of the International.

Who, then, commands this great army of toil—the only one on earth? From whence do the vanguards of the workmen await the orders to battle?

The name of the supreme commander is *The Communist International*, and the headquarters of the commander is Red Moscow. Delegates have come to Russia from all the ends of the earth and from all Communist Parties. The barbed-wire blockade could not stop them. The Black International of the imperialistic powers was unable to break the living bonds of the world proletariat.

Here in Russia a review is held of the fighting forces of the Communist International. Here is being perfected the organization of this world-revolutionary army of toil.

The 2nd Congress of the Communist International will adopt one single line of militant tactics, point out the pathway of attack, and thereon will lead forward the workmen of the world.

The 2nd Congress will unite all the militant ranks scattered over the world and summon them all to a revolutionary discipline that will be a pledge of victory.

And now, not in words but in deeds, there must be formed a solid world-front of the revolutionary proletariat. And there is no power that can break it.

Under its assaults world imperialism will crumble away!

Under its blows all the old world will fly into dust!

ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY,
Delegate of the Communist Party of America.

33. "The Communist International and the Period of Proletarian Dictatorship."

By L. FRAINA.

[Moscow Pravda, July 23, 1920.]

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most fundamental characteristic form of the proletarian revolution; therefore, the latter in its development will unavoidably assume the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

World imperialism destroyed all illusions about freedom and democracy. The "democratic" nature of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was displayed in full measure in many unprecedented restrictions and bloody encounters. "My" country, America, formerly the most progressive country in the world, has now become the most reactionary; the impending American revolution will be more cruel and severe than the revolutions in Russia and Germany.

At the same time the dictatorship of the proletariat (in Russia, Bavaria, and Hungary) destroyed the illusion that democracy, parliamentarism, compromise, and other peaceful processes promote the actualization of Socialism. Only through merciless struggle, and civil and economic war, as well as by the political expropriation of capitalism, can the workmen seize authority for themselves and for all mankind.

In this revolutionary struggle class must be set against class, authority against authority, and the liberating dictatorship of the revolutionary proletariat against the dictatorship of reactionary capitalism.

There are two periods in the epoch of the proletarian dictatorship—one, when the laboring class strives to clinch authority for itself, and the other period when it merely tries to take possession of authority.

The mere fact of the existence of a proletarian dictatorship has tremendous significance for the world proletariat, because it forces it to unite amicably for the support and defense of the former. But not less important is also the tremendous activity in the domain of economic regeneration in cities as well as in the rural districts. The workmen employed at the bench or in the field are in the front ranks of opposition to world imperialism, like soldiers at the front. The growing economic power of Russia is a vital factor in the tactics of the world revolution.

The opening up of the infinitely rich natural resources of Russia will make it a country of mighty economic strength, a powerful rival of the imperialistic powers. This economic power of Russia, put in motion, will give mighty aid to the complete crushing of imperialism throughout the world.

The activities of the proletarian dictatorship in the process of assuming authority have as yet consisted only in fomenting revolutionary strikes and the revolutionary ferment, and in organizing the defense of already existing Soviet republics. This presupposes the bringing of the development of energy and of the moral and physical forces of the proletariat to the highest degree of tension.

Although these two periods of the proletarian revolution also differ in the form of their activities, they are actually one, as the one is dependent upon the other, and each of these periods expresses only a definite stage of development of world revolution. The Communist International has as its highest exponent of this unity the executive committee, which is also the general staff of the international civil war against capitalism, giving directions and serving as a guiding authority for the world revolution.

The old Socialist International was dismembered by the assembly of national organizations for class conciliation. The Communist International is the centralized, disciplined unification of revolutionary forces for class war. The former recognizes the principle of

“democracy” and parliamentarism, increasing the subjection of the laboring class. The latter recognizes the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet authority which guarantee the complete liberation of the laboring class. The proletarian revolution, being world-wide, also demands world tactics, which the III International carries out, securing the unity of the struggle on a world-wide scale, and discounting the various conditions and demands of world circumstances. This is our answer and challenge to the black international of imperialism.

Soviet Russia, as the first labor republic, inspires and gives a mighty impulse to the Communist International. As standard bearer of the world revolution, the III International serves as a pledge of the victory of Soviet Russia when it will expand into a world federated Soviet Republic.

L. FRAINA,
Secretary of the Communist Party of America.

34. Speech by John Reed at 2nd Congress of Communist International on Negro Question.

[Moscow Pravda, Aug. 8, 1920.]

At the present time there are about 10,000,000 negroes living in the United States; most of them are in the Southern States, but during the last few years many thousands of negroes have moved North. As a general rule the northern negro is an industrial laborer, while in the South they are generally farm laborers or small farmers. The position of the negroes in the United States, especially in the Southern States, is terrible. They are accorded no political rights whatever, although the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States confers upon the negroes full rights of citizenship. Nevertheless the majority of the Southern States deprive the negroes of these rights and in other States where they legally have the right to vote they are killed if they dare to exercise this right.

In the United States negroes are not permitted to travel in a car containing white people nor are they permitted to visit hotels and restaurants frequented by the whites nor to live in the same part of towns. Separate schools of an inferior character exist for negroes and separate churches are maintained. This separation of the negro from the white is called the “Jim Crow” system, and the clergy of southern churches teach that there is also a heaven in which the “Jim Crow” system is in operation. In industrial undertakings negroes are generally used as unskilled laborers and until recently they were not admitted to membership in the majority of unions which comprise what is known as the American Federation of Labor. The International of the Revolutionary Youth of course worked to organize the negroes. The old Socialist Party has never seriously endeavored to organize the negroes, and, in fact, in several States negroes were not admitted to the party, while in other States they formed separate and distinct sections. In party organizations throughout the Southern States the expenditure of funds for electioneering among the negroes is generally prohibited.

In the South the negro has no legal rights and does not enjoy the protection of the law. The white is permitted to kill the negro without fear of punishment. A famous institution created by the whites in the South is what is known as "lynching." This is done as follows: The negro is dipped in oil and then strung up to the nearest telegraph or telephone pole while the whole population of the town—men, women, and children—run to see the show and to take home as souvenirs parts of the tortured negro's clothes and skin.

I have not sufficient time to explain the status of the negro question in the United States from a historical standpoint. The negroes are the descendants of a slave population, the liberation of which was effected only as a military necessity at the time of the Civil War, when they were still entirely undeveloped from an economic and political standpoint. They were granted full political rights solely with the intentions of creating a desperate class struggle and with a view to hindering the development of southern capital and thus enable the North to obtain control of all the resources of the country.

Until comparatively recently the negroes gave no indication of any aggressive class tendencies. A change in this regard was first noticed after the Spanish-American War, during which the black regiments fought with great bravery and from which they returned with the feeling that they were human beings and the equals of the white soldiers. Up to that time there had been no movement or advance among the negroes, with the exception of a semiphilanthropic educational institution headed by Booker T. Washington and supported by white capitalists. This movement resulted in the organization of a few schools where the negroes were taught to be good servants and laborers and to be satisfied with the lot and destiny of an inferior people. During the Spanish War a new feeling arose among the negroes, which found expression in a demand for social and political equality as regards the whites. The American Army which was sent to France during the European War included half a million of negroes, and these, when serving in the same units or organizations with French soldiers, observed that they were being treated in social and other matters as full equals. The American General Staff then applied to the French High Command with a request that the negroes be excluded from all places visited or frequented by white people and made a request that the negro be treated as an inferior being. After having served throughout the war these negro soldiers, many of whom received decorations for bravery from the French and Belgian Governments, returned to their homes and villages, where many were lynched solely because they dared to wear their uniforms and decorations in public.

At the same time indications appeared of a strong feeling and movement among the negroes who had remained at home. Thousands of them moved to the Northern States, where they were employed in war industries and where they came into touch with the strong labor movement. Their lot, however, was unhappy, as the increase of wages could not keep pace with the tremendous increase in the price of all articles of absolute necessity. In addition, the negroes were much more affected by the terrific strain of working in these factories at high tension than were the white laborers who through many years of experience had become accustomed to this terrible exploitation.

A little later the negroes went on a strike together with the white laborers and they soon united with the industrial proletariat, as they proved to be very susceptible to revolutionary propaganda. At this time the magazine—The Messenger—was founded, edited by a young negro Socialist—Randolph. He combined socialistic propaganda with an appeal to the race consciousness of the negroes and urged them to organize for self-defense against the brutal attacks of the whites. But at the same time he insisted upon the closest affiliation with the white laborers despite the fact that these white laborers had sometimes participated in negro pogroms, pointing out that the conflict between these two races is supported by capitalists for their own selfish purposes.

The return from the front of the American Army brought 4,000,000 of white laborers to the labor market. This resulted in a lack of work and an evidence of impatience on the part of the demobilized soldiers who threatened the employers to such a degree and extent that the employers were compelled to direct this general dissatisfaction along another line, which they did by informing the soldiers that their places had been given to negro workers. They thus provoked the white laborers into starting a massacre of the negroes. The first struggle took place in the National Capital at Washington, where petty government officials after their return from the war found their places occupied by negroes. The majority of these officials were from the South. They organized a night attack on the negroes of the city in order to intimidate them and induce them to vacate their positions. To the great surprise of all, however, the negroes appeared on the streets fully armed and they fought with such bravery that for each negro killed three whites were killed. A few months later a similar riot broke out in Chicago which lasted for several days and resulted in many people being killed on both sides. A third massacre took place in Omaha. In these fights, for the first time in history, the negroes were fully armed, splendidly organized, and gave no evidence of any fear of the whites. The belated interference of the Government and the admittance of negro laborers to the trade-unions of the American Federation of Labor resulted from the resistance offered by the negroes in these clashes.

Race consciousness has steadily increased among the negroes, a certain section of whom are now carrying on a propaganda in favor of an armed revolt against the whites. Returned negro soldiers have everywhere organized unions for self-defense against lynchings carried on by the whites. The circulation of the Messenger has steadily increased until at the present time its monthly issue approximates 150,000 copies. And along with all this, socialistic ideas are rapidly developing among the blacks employed in industrial establishments.

As an oppressed and downtrodden people, the negro offers to us a double or twofold opportunity: First, a strong race and social movement; second, a strong proletarian labor movement. The negro does not demand national independence. Every movement which has thus far been carried on among them with the aim of establishing a separate national existence—for example, the "Back to Africa" movement—has met with little, if any, success. They consider themselves first of all Americans and feel entirely at home in the United States. This facilitates to a very great extent the task of Communists.

The only proper policy for the American Communists to follow is to consider the negro first of all as a laborer. Farm laborers and small farmers of the South present a problem analogous to that of the white rural proletariat, although the negroes are very backward. Among the negro industrial workers in the Northern States communistic propaganda can easily be spread. In both the northern and southern parts of the country the one aim must be to unite the negro and the white laborer in common labor unions; this is the best and the quickest way to destroy the race prejudice and to develop class solidarity.

The Communists must not, however, stand aloof from the negro movement for social and political equality, which is developing so rapidly at the present time among the negro masses. Communists must avail themselves of this movement in order to prove the emptiness of bourgeois equality and the necessity for a social revolution not only to liberate all laborers from slavery but also as being the only effective means of liberating the oppressed negro people.

35. Speech by Louis Fraina at 2nd Congress of Communist International on Foreign Workmen in America.

[Moscow Pravda, Aug. 8, 1920.]

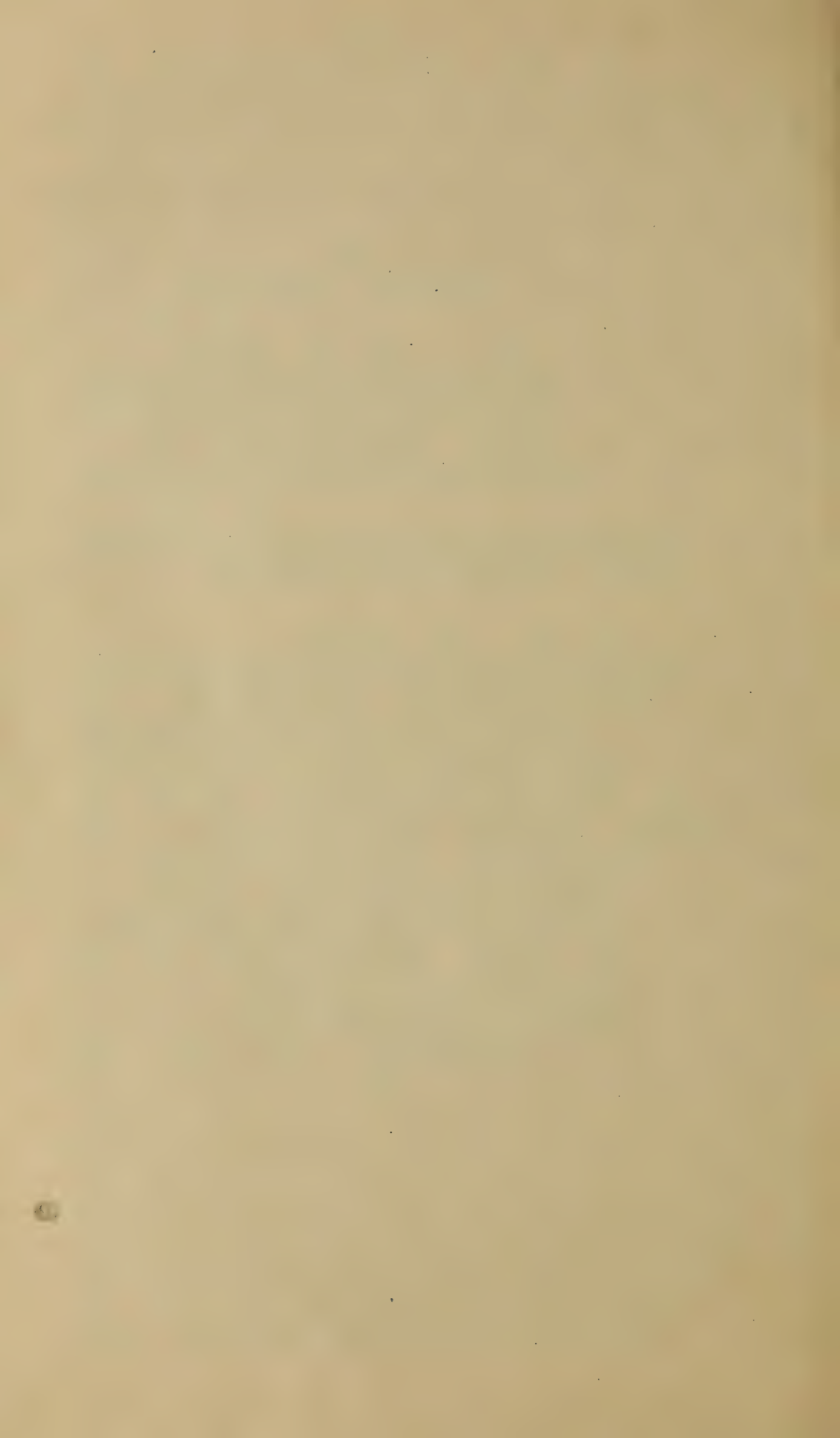
The orator who preceded me told you about the negroes and their oppression in the United States. But we have two more oppressed peoples—the foreign laborer and the colonial inhabitant. The severe suppression of strikes and of the revolutionary movement in the United States is not a result of the war, but is rather merely an increase or development of the former attitude toward the unorganized unskilled laborer. Strikes of these laborers are brutally suppressed. Why? Because these unorganized and unskilled laborers are in a great majority of cases foreigners, amounting, in fact, to about 60 per cent of the industrial proletariat. The foreign laborer in the United States is, in fact, in a position similar to that of the colonial.

After the Civil War (1861–1866) capitalism developed very rapidly in the United States and the rich western districts of the country were opened for capitalistic exploitation after the construction of the transcontinental railways. Capital was brought into this western district from the Eastern States and from Europe, while the immigrants were human raw material and were “developed” in the same manner as are the people who inhabit a colonial dependency. The horrors under which colonial people are suffering are in no way worse than those with which the foreign laborer in the United States is familiar. For example, in 1912 a strike occurred at Ludlow, and the laborers were forcibly ejected from their homes by soldiers and were compelled to live in tents. And when the men were engaged in a struggle against the soldiers, which took place several miles from these tents, another group of soldiers surrounded the tents and set fire to them, as a result of which several hundreds of women and children were burned. Under conditions such as these the class fight in the United States takes, in part, the form of a race fight. And just as the revolt of the negroes was the beginning not of a proletarian, but of a bourgeois revolution, so the same can take place

in the event of a revolt of foreign laborers. Our great task is to unite them with the American laborers in order thus to bring about a single revolutionary movement.

All of Latin America must be considered as a colony of the United States, and not only actual colonies like the Philippine Islands and others. All of Central America is under the control of American armed forces. This occupation exists also in Mexico and South America, where it is managed or carried out by two different means: First, by financial and economic influence, which has increased enormously following the expropriation of all German establishments in these countries; second, by the employment of the Monroe doctrine, which was originally intended to defend Americans from monarchistic reaction but which later on was turned into a weapon for the establishment of the supremacy of American imperialism in Latin America. Latin America now serves as the colonial base for the imperialism of the United States. While economic conditions throughout the entire world are rapidly growing worse, the imperialism of the United States is continually growing stronger through the exploitation of Latin America. It is necessary for us to fight this imperialism and to develop the revolutionary movement in Latin America, just as it is necessary for us to fight British imperialism by supporting the revolutionary movement in its colonies.

Up to the present time but little attention has been paid by the labor movement in the United States to the labor movement in Latin America, and the movement from the ideological viewpoint has been under the influence of Spain and not of the United States. The movement must be freed from this influence with its syndicalist prejudices. The American Federation of Labor and the reactionary Socialist Party try to institute Pan American organizations, but these last can not be made to serve revolutionary aims. The Communist movement in the United States in particular, and the Communist International in general, must intervene actively in the movement in Latin America. This movement and the movement in the United States must be regarded as a single whole. Our strategy and tactics must be in accordance with a plan for an American revolution throughout all of America. The main task of the Communist International, the realization of which would guarantee victory of the world revolution, is the destruction of imperialism in the United States; and this destruction is only possible as the result of a gigantic revolutionary movement throughout all of America, each separate unit of which must be subordinated to the coordinated plans of the American revolution.



APPENDIXES.

I.

"WHAT SHOULD BE THE IMMEDIATE AND UNIVERSAL STEP IN PREPARATION FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLE- TARIAT? "

By N. LENIN.

[Communist International, July 19, 1920.]

From the theses of N. Lenin on the fundamental tasks of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International:

The present moment in the development of the international Communist movement is characterized by the fact that in the overwhelming majority of capitalistic countries the preparation of the proletariat for its realization of dictatorship has not been completed, and very often has not been even systematically started. From this it does not follow that the proletarian revolution is impossible in the immediate future; it is quite possible, because the whole economic and political setting is exceptionally rich in inflammable material and in reasons for an unexpected flaring up of revolution; also there is at hand another condition for revolution, in addition to the preparedness of the proletariat, namely, the general state of crises in all dominant and bourgeois parties. From what has been said, however, it follows that the task of the moment for Communist parties is not to hasten the revolution but to increase the preparedness of the proletariat. On the other hand, the instances noted above from the history of many Socialist parties forces us to insist that "recognition" of the dictatorship of the proletariat should not be allowed to remain merely recognition in words.

Therefore the main task at the present moment of the Communist parties, from the point of view of the international proletarian movement, is to bring together the scattered Communist forces, to organize in each country a united Communist party (or strengthen and renew the existing party), in order to increase tenfold the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of state power, and for the conquest of power precisely in the form of a dictatorship of the proletariat. The usual Socialist work of groups and parties that recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat has not to date been adequately subjected to the radical changes and renovations which are necessary if such work is to be recognized as communistic and in conformity with the tasks imposed by imminence of the proletarian dictatorship.

The conquest of political power by the proletariat does not bring about the cessation of class struggle against the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, makes this struggle especially wide, sharp, and pitiless. All groups, parties, and workers in the labor movement who have taken the point of view of reformism and of the "Center," in whole or in part, and inevitably as a result of the extreme acuteness of the struggle, either take the side of the bourgeoisie or join the hesitating ones, or (what is most dangerous) become the hopeless friends of the victorious proletariat. Therefore preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat requires not only a sharper struggle against reformist tendencies but also a change in the character of this struggle. The struggle can not be limited to attempts to make clear the mistaken character of these reformist tendencies; the struggle should unmask pitilessly every worker within the labor movement who shows these tendencies. Because otherwise

the proletariat can not recognize in whose company it is going into this decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie. This struggle is of such a character that at any moment one may replace, and one does replace, as experience has already shown, the weapon of criticism by criticism as to the weapon. Any hesitation or weakness in unmasking those who reveal themselves as reformists or members of the "Center" will increase directly the danger to the authority of the proletariat coming from the bourgeoisie, for the latter will use to-morrow for counter-revolution what to-day seem to the blind only "theoretical differences of opinion."

For example, one can not limit oneself to the usual denial in principle of any cooperation between proletariat and bourgeoisie, of the "idea of collaboration." The simple defense of "freedom" and "equality," so long as private ownership of the means of production continues, becomes under the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat, which can not immediately destroy private property entirely, actual "cooperation" with the bourgeoisie, which cooperation directly undermines the power of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat means political strengthening and defense, with all the apparatus of state powers, "nonfreedom" of the exploiter to continue his work of oppression and exploitation and "nonequality" of the property owner (that is, the one who takes for himself personally certain means of production that have been created by social labor) with the nonpropertied. What before the victory of the proletariat appears theoretically as merely a difference of opinion on the question of "democracy," after the proletarian victory becomes inevitably a question to be decided by force of arms. Consequently the preliminary preparation of the masses for the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without a wide and radical change in the whole character of the struggle against "Centrists" and the "defenders of democracy."

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most decisive and revolutionary form of the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. This struggle can succeed only when the most revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat carries with it the overwhelming majority of the latter. The preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat therefore demands the showing up not only of the bourgeois character of all reform movements and of any defense of democracy so long as private property in the means of production is retained; not only the showing up of the manifestations of such tendencies which amount in fact to the building up of a defense of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement; it demands also the replacement of the old leaders by Communists in all forms of proletarian organizations, not only political but also industrial, cooperative, and educational. The longer and more permanent the rule of bourgeois democracy in any given country, the more successful have been the efforts of the bourgeoisie to place in such positions the leaders whom it has educated and brought up on its own prejudices, or, as often happens, whom it has directly or indirectly bribed. It is necessary to drive out from all these positions those representatives of the labor aristocracy, and also, and with even greater daring, those workmen that have become bourgeois, and replace such even by the most inexperienced workmen, so long as the latter are in touch with the exploited masses and enjoy the latter's confidence in the struggle against exploiters. The dictatorship of the proletariat admits the appointment of such workmen who have not had experience to the most responsible governmental positions, for otherwise the authority of the workmen's government would be powerless, and the latter would not be supported by the masses.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most complete realization of the leadership of all toilers and exploited who have been oppressed, frightened, scattered, and deceived by the class of capitalists, on the part of a single class which has been prepared for such a leading rôle by the whole history of capitalism. Therefore the preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be begun everywhere and immediately by means of the following, among other methods: In all, without exception, organizations, unions, and associations first of all of proletarians and then of nonproletarian, toiling, and exploited masses (political, trade-unions, military, cooperative, educational, athletic, etc.), there must be created small groups of Communists. These last should be preferably public, but also secret, the latter obligatory whenever one can anticipate the closing down of the former or the arrest or exile of their members by the bourgeoisie. Further, these groups, closely connected up among themselves and with the central bodies of the party, interchanging experiences, carrying out the work of agitation, propaganda, and organization, applying themselves to abso-

lutely all fields of public life and to absolutely all aspects and subdivisions of the toiling mass, must systematically educate themselves and also the party, the class, and the masses by such comprehensive activity.

In this connection it is most important to work out in a practical manner the necessarily different kinds of methods of such work—on the one hand the attitude toward the “leaders” or “responsible representatives,” which latter have been frequently hopelessly demoralized by petty bourgeois and imperialistic prejudices. These “leaders” must be pitilessly shown up and driven out from the labor movement. On the other hand, with relation to the masses, which particularly since the imperialistic war have been inclined generally to listen to and accept the teaching of the need of the leadership of the proletariat as the only way out of their capitalist slavery—with respect to the masses one must learn to be particularly patient and careful, in order to be able to understand the peculiarities, special traits, and psychology of each group, profession, etc., of this mass.

In particular, one of the groups of Communists deserves the particular attention and solicitude of the party, namely, the parliamentary fraction; that is, the group of members of the party who are members of a bourgeois institution (of a general national institution and also local and municipal bodies). On the one hand it is this tribune that has an especially important significance in the eyes of the broadest groups of the backward toiling mass, which have been imbued with petty bourgeois prejudices. Therefore, Communists must carry on the work of propaganda, agitation, and organization from this particular tribune, explaining to the masses why the dispersal of the bourgeois parliament in Russia by the National Congress of Soviets was legitimate (and will be legitimate at the proper moment in any other country). On the other hand, the entire history of bourgeois democracy has made the parliamentary tribune, especially in progressive countries, the main, or one of the main centers of unprecedented rascalities, financial and political deceptions of the people, careerism, hypocrisy, and the oppression of the toilers. Therefore, ardent hate for parliaments on the part of the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat is absolutely legitimate. Therefore, on the part of Communist parties and of all parties adhering to the III International, particularly in the instances where these parties have grown up not as a result of a break with the old parties and of a long and stubborn struggle with the latter, but as the result of the passing of old parties (frequently merely nominal) to a new position, it is necessary to take an exceptionally strict attitude toward the parliamentary fractions. They must be subjected absolutely to the control and orders of the central committee of the party: they must include primarily revolutionary workmen; a careful analysis must be made in the party press and at party congresses of the speeches of the parliamentary members from the point of view of their Communist content; the deputies must be assigned to agitation work among the masses; and those who show tendencies toward the II International must be excluded from those fractions.

One of the main causes retarding the revolutionary labor movement in various capitalistic countries is the fact that capital, thanks to colonial possessions and to the surplus-profits of financial capital, has been successful in singling out a comparatively wide and important group of a small minority of the workmen's aristocracy. The latter enjoys the best conditions of wages and has been imbued with the spirit of caste, and with petty bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. This group represents the real social “support” of the II International, and of reformists and “Centrists.” At the present moment this group is probably the main social support of the bourgeoisie. No preparation, even preliminary, of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible without the immediate, systematic, extensive, and open struggle against this group, which undoubtedly—as has been clearly shown already by experience—will furnish large elements for the bourgeois white-guard after the victory of the proletariat. All parties that adhere to the III International must at any cost carry out the slogan: “Deeper into the masses and a closer bond with the masses”—understanding as masses any group of toilers and exploited, particularly the least organized and educated, and most exploited, and least touched by organization.

The proletariat will become revolutionary only insofar as it does not inclose itself in the narrow framework of a guild, but comes forward in all manifestations and on all occasions of public life as the leader of all toiling and exploited masses. The realization of the proletarian dictatorship is impossible unless the proletariat is ready for, and capable of, the greatest sacrifices in order to triumph over the bourgeoisie. In this connection, the experience of

Russia has enormous significance, both in principle and in practice, because here in Russia the proletariat would not have been able to realize its dictatorship, would not have been able to win for itself general respect, and the confidence of all toiling masses, had it not suffered itself the greatest sacrifices, had it not hungered more than all the other groups, and this during the very difficult moments of attack, war, and blockade from the world bourgeoisie.

In principle the widest and most complete support of the Communist Party by the entire forward-looking proletariat is especially necessary with respect to the wide, elemental, mass strike movement, which latter alone is able, under the yoke of capital, genuinely to arouse, stir up, enlighten, and organize the masses, and inspire in them complete confidence in the leading rôle of the revolutionary proletariat. Without such preparation no dictatorship of the proletariat is possible. Persons capable of coming out publicly against strikes, like Kautsky in Germany and Turati in Italy, can not be allowed to remain in the ranks of parties adhering to the III International. This, of course, applies even more to those trade-unionists and parliamentary leaders who frequently betray the workmen by drawing the lesson of reformism and not of revolution from the experience of strikes (for example in England and in France in recent years).

For all countries, even for those that are the most free, "legal," and "peaceful" in the sense of the least sharpening of the class struggle, the period has now completely matured, when it is absolutely necessary for each Communist Party to unite systematically its legal and illegal work, its legal and illegal organizations. Because in the most enlightened and free countries, with the most "stable" bourgeois-democratic order, governments now, despite their false and hypocritical declarations, are systematically resorting to the introduction of secret lists of Communists, to constant violation of their own constitutions for the purpose of giving half-secret and secret support to the white-guardists and to the murdering of Communists in all countries, to the secret preparation of arrests of Communists, to the introduction of provocatory agents among Communists, etc. Only the most reactionary petty bourgeoisie, with whatever beautiful "democratic" and peaceful phrases it may cover itself, can deny this fact, or the conclusion that must be drawn from this fact, namely, the immediate formation by all legal Communist parties of illegal organizations for the purpose of systematic illegal work, and for the purpose of preparing fully for the moment when these bourgeois persecutions will appear. Illegal work is particularly necessary in the army, the navy, and the police force, because after the great imperialistic war all governments in the world have come to fear national armies that are open to peasants and workmen and have set about secretly to apply all kinds of methods for recruiting specially selected detachments from the bourgeoisie, which are equipped with the latest technical improvements.

On the other hand, in all instances, without exception, it is necessary not to limit oneself to illegal work, but it is necessary to carry on also legal activity, overcoming all difficulties, establishing legal organizations of the press and legal organizations under the most varied aspects, and, where necessary, frequently changing names. This was the method adopted by the illegal Communist parties in Finland and Hungary, and particularly in Germany, Poland, etc. The "Industrial Workers of the World" in America should adopt this method, as should all existing legal Communist parties, wherever the prosecuting attorneys are pleased to start prosecutions on the basis of resolutions of congresses of the Communist International, etc.

The absolute necessity, as a matter of principle, of uniting the illegal and legal work is determined not only by the whole combination of conditions in the period through which we are passing, the period of the eve of the proletarian dictatorship, but is also determined by the need of showing to the bourgeoisie that there is not and can not be any field or line of work which the Communists have not conquered. This need is determined particularly by the fact that everywhere we find broad groups of the proletariat, and also particularly of the nonproletarian toiling and exploited masses, which still believe in bourgeois-democratic legality, whose disillusionment represents for us one of our most important tasks.

In particular, the position of the workmen's press in the most progressive capitalist countries shows most plainly the complete falsehood of freedom and equality under bourgeois democracy, and also the need of systematically uniting legal and illegal activity. Both in conquered Germany and in victorious America the whole power of the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie and all the

activities of its financial kings have been set in motion in order to deprive the workmen of their press; judicial proceedings and arrests (or murder by hired murderers) of editors, exclusion from the mails, depriving of paper, etc. Further, the news material needed by a daily paper is in the hands of bourgeois telegraph agencies, and advertisements, without which a large newspaper can not pay expenses, are in the "free" control of capitalists. To summarize, the bourgeoisie is depriving the revolutionary proletariat of its press by deceit and by the pressure of capital and of the bourgeois State.

To combat all this Communist parties must create a new type of periodic press for mass distribution among workmen: Firstly, legal publications, which without calling themselves Communists and without speaking of their membership in the party, would learn to use the smallest measure of legal existence, as the Bolsheviks did under the Tsar after 1905; secondly, illegal leaflets even though distributed in small numbers and irregularly, but reprinted in a mass of printing offices by workmen (secretly, but if the movement grows by means of revolutionary seizure of printing offices), which will give the proletariat free revolutionary information and revolutionary watchwords.

Unless the masses are drawn into the revolutionary struggle for the freedom of the Communist press, there can be no preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

N. LENIN.

II.

"THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, PAST AND FUTURE (WHAT IT HAS BEEN, AND SHOULD BECOME)."

By G. ZINOVIEV.

[Communist International, Petrograd, July 19, 1920.]

I.

We are at the crest. The Communist International must now begin to work at another pace than that maintained to date. During the 15 months of its existence the Communist International has grown tremendously. On the eve of the 1st Congress of the Communist International we had the following picture: On the one side was the II International, very much shaken and compromised, but nevertheless trying to unite, if only formally, the most important older parties; on the other side, in the majority of countries, the first insignificant groups were just beginning to raise the Communist banner. It is not that way now. Now we have on the one side the III International, into whose ranks almost all the old parties are rushing, which already has in every country a solid organized support, and on the other side a mere heap of ruins where the II International used to be.

The Communist International till now was primarily an organ of *propaganda and agitation*. The Communist International becomes now a *militant organization*, which will have to assume immediate direction of the movement in the various countries. In the course of the first year of its existence the Communist International was only a *standard bearer* of the International proletariat that was rising for decisive battle. The Communist International now becomes a *practical organizer* of this magnificent world struggle such as history has never seen.

This last fact puts entirely new obligations on the Communist International. So long as it is simply a matter of expression of sympathy for us on the part of this or that party the Communist International can not as a rule be the loser. But when it becomes a question of the desire of a party which only yesterday was a member of the II International to join the III International, then we must exercise double caution and discretion.

The immediate question before us is the attitude of the Communist International toward the Independent Party of Germany, the French Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of America, the Independent Labor Party of England, the Socialist Party of Switzerland, and several other groups—in a word, toward the entire tendency of the "Center," which is not standing at the crossroads between the

II and III Internationals. The rank and file members of these parties—the workmen—are pushing these organizations into *our* ranks, and the leaders of the “Center” now announce their more or less final decision to join the III International as part of its organization.

It is necessary, it seems to us, that the above-named parties should first of all explain to themselves clearly just *what the III International is now becoming and what obligations are imposed upon every party that joins it.*

The Communist International insistently asserts the necessity of a break with Reformism and the Reformists, even for those parties where supporters of our views are in the majority—for instance, in Italy, Sweden, Jugo-Slavia, and other countries. This condition should be read first of all by the representatives of the old parties mentioned above, who desire to enter the ranks of the Communist International. This is our first desire.

The Communist International, of course, does not at all intend to fashion all parties on the same model. The Communist International has shown not only by words but also by deeds, that it knows how to evaluate all the differences in the conditions under which the various parties are living and struggling. The Communist International takes careful account of the fact that there is field of local questions, where the decision belongs to the particular party.

II.

The rapid revolutionizing of the heads of the labor class throughout the world had led to the creation of an *instinctively* revolutionary, yet theoretically quite undefined movement, of the shop stewards committees in England, of the Industrial Workers of the World in a number of countries, and of the revolutionary section of Syndicalists and Anarchists.

The Russian Bolsheviks had to define their attitude toward revolutionary syndicalism some 15 years ago, when the revolutionary syndicalism in France was enjoying its honeymoon. The Russian Bolsheviks then attempted to separate the chaff from the wheat, and find the sound grain that could withstand the elemental protests of the working masses against opportunism as expressed in their sympathy with revolutionary syndicalism.

It will be our duty to follow along the same line now. The first constituent Congress of the Communist International noted this line of policy very clearly. The prejudice against bringing into our ranks the followers of Shop Stewards Committees, the revolutionary Syndicalists, and so forth, often displayed by some eminent workers of the Communist International, must be overcome at any price. In the above movement there undoubtedly is much that is not clear and much that is even quite absurd; we do not deny this, not for one minute. But the movement of the Shop Stewards Committees is fundamentally a healthy one and a strictly proletarian one. We must learn to wait patiently for this movement to crystalize into a Communist movement. We must help to make this process easier and more rapid.

These movements are of a transitional character. They are created by a particular stage of evolution in those countries where the old “classical” trade-unions and old State Socialist parties have been definitely compromising themselves, but where Communist parties have not yet succeeded in establishing themselves or are still extremely weak. Such countries are primarily England and America. The Communist International must not and will not make a single concession in ideas to the prejudices of these instinctively revolutionary but theoretically not clarified currents. The III International candidly and in a comradely manner will extend its hand to them, in the firm conviction that these groups will draw nearer to us with every coming day.

What the revolutionary Syndicalists, the Shop-Stewards Committees, the I. W. W., and the Communist Wing of the Anarchists especially lack is an *understanding of the rôle of the Communist Party.* The adherents of these tendencies have become used to employing the mark of equality for the two conceptions of “politics” and “petty politics.” They are accustomed to see only parties without principles led by parliamentary careerists corroded with opportunism. In order to persuade these people and cure these organizations of their prejudices against parties it is necessary to *show them actually at work other parties*, parties of a truly Communistic character, with a clear program, with revolutionary tactics and iron discipline, parties that are able to absorb the best that there is in the working class, parties that are able to lead the proletariat to the storming of the fortresses of capital. It is here that *propaganda of action* is needed first of all.

You do not believe that proletarian Communist parties are actually possible? You believe that any parliamentary activity is *opportunistic*? You think that every party is occupied solely with petty politics? But see! Here is the Russian Communist Party, that was capable of taking the lead of the entire working class of its country and to expropriate the bourgeoisie! Look again! There is the German Communist Party, that was able, in spite of obstacles, to unify within its ranks the flower of the working class. Again, in Italy, Bulgaria, France, England, and America similar parties are being created! Watch and learn and you will soon understand that by renouncing the Communist Party you really are forfeiting your own right hand.

This is what we must say to the proletarians who join the above-named organizations. Then they will see that the Communist International is right. Then they will join us wholeheartedly and create a sound proletarian basis for the Communist Party in those very countries where this basis is still lacking.

III.

The Communist International, we repeat, till now has occupied itself mainly with propaganda. It must now pass on to the *organization* of the direct struggle of the working class in various countries against the bourgeoisie. This, in its turn, raises a new problem for us. We must absolutely see to it that not a single mass organization of workmen remain in the hands of our adversaries.

We must not forget that even though the II International is wrecked, an international movement of yellow trade-unions was started in Amsterdam, which the II International is attempting to use for its support.

For the Communist International as a whole the question can not be seriously even raised as to whether or not the Communists should leave the trade-unions—a question raised by the “Left Wing” Communists in Germany, Holland, and England. The slogan of the Communist International does not say to “leave the unions,” but says to join them in those countries where we have not yet done so. Wherever there are workmen there must be Communists. We can not leave several millions of workmen exposed to the influence of the Socialist-Traitors while we stand to one side. The Socialist-Traitors, who are outcasts from political parties, have established themselves “for good” in the trade-unions. We must take this fortress; we must conduct a regular, systematic, and patient siege against it. We must drive out the betrayers of the working class from this last shelter of theirs; we must destroy this buffer between ourselves and the bourgeoisie, and then we shall be face to face with the capitalists, who then will not find it very comfortable.

The executive committee of the Communist International more than six months ago raised the question of creating an international union of *Red* trade-unions to counteract the international union of the yellow “Social-Democrats” and “*free*” unions. This effort, we do not desire to conceal, is making very slow progress. We are encountering many practical difficulties. We have to take into account that even in such a country as Italy, where the entire working class is on our side, the trade-unions that call themselves Communistic are in fact in the hands of the leaders of the Reformists. We are told that the leaders of the Reformists, with deliberate intent, have refused to call a convention of the Italian trade-unions for more than six years now, because they know that the working masses are much more radical than the Reformist leaders. We also must take into account the fact that disintegration inside the old trade-unionism in England (the breaking away of the so-called “triple alliance,” etc.) is proceeding rather slowly, and that the leaders of the Left group of the British trade-unions are also often influenced by reformistic prejudices. We also must take into account at the other extreme the fact that the leaders of the Shop Stewards movement and of analogous movements are frequently permeated with anarchistic ideas.

And, finally, the problem itself of a unification of international trade-unions is by its very character very difficult to solve. We are *against* participation in the central committee of the Amsterdam International Union, of the yellow trade-unions. But we are *for* participation of Communists and our sympathizers in the international conventions of trade-unions of *individual industries* or *professions*, because these international conventions are in very close touch with the working masses. We are *against* an immediate wholesale schism in all trade-unions, and at the same time we are *for* a merciless struggle against the yellow leaders of these unions.

All this creates greater difficulties on the road toward the solution of this problem, which we have set ourselves. But we repeat: In order that the Communist International should become what it must become, the problem of the organization of an international unification of red trade-unions must be solved *at any cost*.

IV.

And finally, in order that the Communist International should become what it must become, it is necessary that we have a *single* Communist Party in each country. In America we have had till now two Communist Parties. It has been the same in Germany. In England we have four or five separate Communist groups. It is the same in France. An end must be put to all this.

The clearest division of principle between two Communist Parties was noted in *Germany*. But here also it seems to us that the difficulties are now behind us and that the time is near when we shall succeed in establishing a *single* Communist Party in Germany. The central committee of the Communist Party in Germany (the Spartacan Union) undoubtedly has made big organizational and political mistakes, although in principle and fundamentally it was correct in its policies. The most important error committed by the Spartacan Union was its conduct during the Kapp days.

We are publishing in this issue the more important statements of such prominent leaders of the Communist Party of Germany as Clara Zetkin, Paul Levi, and Ernest Meyer. These letters attacking sharply the hesitating stand of the central committee of the Communist Party in Germany during the Kapp days create a new situation. They open up the way for the sincere revolutionary workingmen who went over to the second, "Left," Communist Labor Party of Germany (K. A. P. D.) to reunite with the old party. In the ranks of the Communist Labor Party of Germany are many devoted and honest proletarians who were prevented from joining our ranks by the opportunism and tactlessness of the majority of the central committee of the Communist Party of Germany (the Spartacan Union). The Communist International will, as a matter of principle, condemn the "Left" evasions of the Communist Labor Party of Germany and will point out the errors of the central committee of the old Communist Party of Germany. On this basis a *single* Communist Party must be created in Germany.

In *France* we must at any cost overcome the skepticism with reference to the idea itself of creating a Communist Party, a skepticism which remains with the leaders of the revolutionary syndicalists. It appears to prevail even among such deserving comrades as Comrade Rosmer. The time has arrived when in France there must be organized *at any cost* a single Communist Party. And further, it goes without saying, we must begin with the organization of a compact party of genuine co-thinkers who will later be able to attract the elements which at present are not yet fully communistic.

In *England*, only recently the group of Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst made a hurry-up attempt to create a Communist Party on the "Left" principle of renouncing all participation in parliaments, and of refusing to have anything to do with the Labor Party of England. The Communist International can under no circumstances acknowledge this attempt as the last word in Communist wisdom. On the contrary, we are using our power to unite all, without exception, Communist groups in England. Further, this of course will be *not* on the separatist platform of the "Leftism" but on the platform of general decisions of the Communist International as a whole.

The fraternal party of *Italy* is on the best road for playing a great historical rôle in the destinies of its country. To this end it must *cleanse* itself of elements of reformism; it is imperative that the trade-union movement of Italy should not be in the hands of Reformists but in those of genuine Communists. It is therefore necessary that the better elements of the "Turin" section which at present is definitely in opposition to the majority of the party, and also that the section of the "Abstentionalists," which is led by Comrade Bordiga, should unite with the leading majority of Italian Communists *on the basis of decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International*.

The *Swedish* Communists are facing a similar task of cleansing their ranks of treacherous and half-conscious Reformists.

The Reformist disease is contagious. It has also touched some of the younger parties, as, for instance, our party in *Jugo-Slavia*. It has not spared even the old deserving Communist Party of *Bulgaria*. The business of Communists is

not to conceal from ourselves these weaknesses of ours from a falsely understood sense of party patriotism. Our business is to consider the facts as they are and to look the danger squarely in the face.

Among the parties belonging to and desiring to join the Communist International—inasmuch as they have not yet purified themselves of the elements of the "Center" and Reformism—a phenomenon is often noted, which might be called "game by turns." The party in one country says, "We shall not begin a decisive struggle for power until power in the neighboring country has been conquered; we want first to be sure of our rear; let such and such start; let victory be assured in such and such country, and then we shall begin."

It is self-understood that the Communist International has no idea of encouraging unprepared uprisings and plots. It will under no circumstances rush events, but will know how to peacefully and phlegmatically await their developments, and call to action only when conditions have matured. At the same time the Communist International will not forget that this idea of struggles "by turns" was quite characteristic of many parties of the II International. This alone is sufficient to make us regard skeptically such reasoning as that cited above.

The Communist International in 1919 was primarily an association for Communist propaganda. The Communist International in 1920 is becoming a militant partnership of workmen who are organizing direct pressure against the bulwarks of capitalism. The civil war is not calming down; it is flaming up with unprecedented force. The war between Soviet Russia and Poland of the nobles has a great international significance and opens up very favorable prospects for an international revolution. The events in the East have enormous significance. What we see to-day in the Near and Far East represents but a faint beginning. The first fiery tongues of the revolutionary flame have appeared in the East. The time is not far off when the entire East will become a revolutionary firebrand.

In the countries where the working class was in power for only a few weeks, the frenzy of the counter-revolution has not been able to prevent the beginning of a new proletarian revolution before our very eyes. Workmen's blood has been spilled particularly by the henchmen in Hungary. But even there—this is perfectly clear—the proletarian revolution is raising its head again. The second place for the number of crimes committed by the bourgeoisie on the working class unquestionably belongs to White Finland. But there also the proletarian revolution has already gotten on its feet again.

We had an opportunity recently to talk with two workmen who had arrived directly from Helsingfors, where for a year they had carried on an extensive and illegal Communist propaganda. A little sketch of what is going on to-day in Finland will show us in a word the frame of mind of the Finnish workmen.

The comrades related how in almost all the larger cities and industrial localities of Finland, which were the battle fields between the Whites and the Reds in 1918, "Saturdaying" of a special character is now being organized. On Saturday afternoons and on holidays, in the cemeteries where the victims of the White Terror are buried, there congregate large numbers of workmen and still larger numbers of women of the working class, who affectionately and carefully decorate the graves and adorn them by erecting plain and simple monuments to the workmen who fell in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The people make up plain and naïve songs and compose simple rhymes in memory of the fallen fighters. And as a constant refrain runs the simple thought: "You did not die in vain, we shall continue your work; out of our bones there will arise a stern avenger."

And the Finnish bourgeoisie sees all this and is powerless to take any steps, because this is a mass action and *all* the workmen and a large majority of the toiling peasants are thinking the same way.

This is a symbol. This throws light right away on the situation of the proletariat in cruel civil war now in progress. The proletarian revolution can not now be destroyed by anyone; it can only be delayed and made more costly for the working class itself by the traitors from our own midst.

Another fact was mentioned by this rank and file workman from Helsingfors, who had come from a country where the bourgeoisie had butchered 30,000 proletarians. He told us that the Finnish workmen naturally hate the bourgeoisie, but *still more do they hate* the White Finnish Social-Democrats who betrayed us at the time of the revolution. Our general state of mind is the

following: First finish with the traitors, the Yellow Social-Democrats; the bourgeoisie will not escape and its turn will come later.

In these few words, perhaps in a somewhat paradoxical form, we have a correct estimate of the fact that throughout the whole world the bourgeoisie is able to exist only thanks to the support of the Yellow Social-Democracy. Never before was the reactionary rôle played by the adherents of the II International as clear as it is at present.

A gigantic task confronts the Communist International and all those parties that belong to it. The Communist International must become the actual general staff of the awakened international proletarian army, which is growing stronger before our very eyes. The International Communist movement will grow like an avalanche of snow. The international proletarian revolution is growing. The Communist International must be able to understand how to organize it and direct it. The task of the Communist International is not only to prepare for the victory and lead the working class during the period of conquest of power; it is also its task to direct the entire activity of the working class after the conquest of power.

The Communist International either will become a united, disciplined, and centralized international militant organization or it will not be able to fulfill its great historical mission.

This is what the Communist International must become, what it undoubtedly will become.

G. ZINOVIEV.

